

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

## The Kissinger years

The time has come to sum up the legacy of that diplomatic whirlwind, Henry Kissinger. It is no easy task. The Secretary of State's long career at the helm of American foreign policy is more the subject of books than a brief editorial. It will take the perspective of history to judge one of the most powerful and dominant secretaries of state of the century.

But acknowledging the controversy that attends his record, we would say above all that Dr. Kissinger deserves to carry with him from office the nation's warm vote of appreciation. Quarrel as one might with his methods and style, he has served his country indefatigably and with profound concern for the national interest. He loved power more than most secretaries of state perhaps. But this made him no less a patriot of his adopted country.

To touch on his achievements as we see them now, first and foremost he is passing on a world basically at peace. This can hardly be overestimated at a time of proliferating nuclear weapons, the growing might of the Soviet Union and China, and the rise of nationalisms everywhere. Indeed Dr. Kissinger has subordinated everything to his quest for international order and, if the world is far from attainment of that goal, it is farther along the path today than eight years ago. The dispute that now rages over Russia's nuclear intentions cannot overshadow the progress made so far toward bringing the arms race under control.

Disappointments notwithstanding, the policy of détente remains valid. If Dr. Kissinger has in fact underestimated Soviet strength or failed to negotiate toughly enough — and this has yet to be proved — he has legitimately made relations with the Soviet Union and China a central concern of American policy. To argue now whether "balance of power" relations or "global and third-world issues" should take priority in diplomacy strikes us as academic. Both threads of policy must be pursued. Neither can be neglected in the pursuit of peace and stability. The Secretary himself was compelled to admit this as he finally and reluctantly came around to dealing with such global issues as energy, food, and trade.

Perhaps the "lone cowboy" fired our admiration most by his plunge (also reluctant at first) into the Middle East, an area he thought he could not tackle because of his Jewish back-

ground. Here, too, critics will argue about the long-term success or failure of "step-by-step" diplomacy. But the overriding fact is that the United States is again influential in the Arab world and talking constructively with both sides to the Arab-Israeli dispute. A final settlement is far from visible yet. But those few "steps" have broken the ice of stalemate and inertia.

Similarly, if belatedly, did Henry Kissinger turn his attention to southern Africa and put the United States squarely on the side of justice for blacks and peaceful evolution toward majority rule. The diplomatic task is only begun. But begun nonetheless.

As for failures and misjudgments, these too will need the perspective of time. Certainly historians will rightly question Dr. Kissinger's policies in Vietnam, his early condescension toward Europe and Japan, his neglect of Latin America (and Africa), and his devious, secretive methods that cost him confidence in Congress.

What concerns us most is that he permitted his passionate pursuit of world order to becloud America's image of moral concern and integrity. To be sure, Dr. Kissinger writes and speaks eloquently on the subject. Nor can one disagree with his view that foreign policy must strike a balance "between the best we want and the best we can have — between the ends we seek and the means we adopt." Idealism must be combined with pragmatism. But what is practical? Surely the practical is served if the United States is perceived to stand for something, not only by what it says but what it does. And more could have been done these past few years, it seems to us, to convey America's ethical values and concern for human rights.

One parting thought. While Dr. Kissinger is often described as at heart a pessimist, he leaves behind no aura of gloom. On the contrary, throughout eight years of political tragedy, military defeat, and global grayness, it was that itinerant diplomat who brought color, zest, and humor to the diplomatic scene.

So, as Henry Kissinger departs office, we choose to remember mostly the good. His intellectual acuteness, his breadth of thought, his realism — these are qualities that endure and will contribute to the sound future of America's foreign policy.

'But at last we're in a tight ship and headed in the right direction'



The Christian Science Monitor

## South Africa's Women for Peace

First it was those courageous peace women in Northern Ireland, determined to stamp out violence there. Now a similar group, known as Women for Peace (WFP), has been formed in South Africa with the objective of damping down black-white racial disturbances. This is another encouraging sign of willingness on the part of women to grapple with issues affecting their lives — issues that so far have not yielded to other efforts to reach a solution.

What we like about the WFP group is that it not only includes a cross-section of South Africa's white population, including Afrikaners as well as English-speaking women among its members, but welcomes black Africans as well. Thus the organization has people well aware of problems on both sides of the country's color barriers on whom to draw for information and support whenever tension arises.

As in Northern Ireland, there are those in restive South Africa who do not think this is women's work. And indeed WFP faces organiz-

ing and educational problems, no doubt. In addition to occasional outbreaks of masculine violence, one remembers the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1960s and 1970s in South Africa, silently protesting against the nation's racial restrictions. They were a distinctive black ribbon as a sign of protest for lost civil liberties and opposition to the apartheid government. The Black Consciousness Movement originally was confined to women, but by 1963 it had been opened to all races.

Little has been heard of Black Consciousness since. But the new Women for Peace movement is a signal that women there are not only concerned about racial rioting but are also concerned about preventing further escalation. Their commitment is laudable, and one hopes such a campaign to provide education for homes in the black township of Soweto near Johannesburg, might well help in such difficult situations.

## Setting lonely hostages free

A welcome bright spot is news that the British family of Lindsay Tyler, including his wife and two young children, have been released unharmed by the Ethiopian rebel guerrillas who held them for eight months.

Because the number of hostages was small and the desert hideaway in which they were kept was remote, the detention of the Tylers did not receive much publicity as the months dragged past. Finally their captors apparently despaired of obtaining a ransom (they had demanded \$1 million) and set their innocent victims free. The original intent probably was to draw world attention to rebel discontent with the Addis Ababa government, and that objective, to an extent, was achieved.

Now that this family has come through ordeal, one's thoughts inevitably turn again to another lonely hostage, Françoise Claustre, a French archaeologist. For going on three years now, she has been held somewhere in the desert fastnesses of Chad, in north-central Africa, by another set of rebels. She too is an innocent hostage of a dissident cause.

It is more than time that her captors realize they have made their point, and that she can be done by this method, and released as a captive.

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Apollo 16 views Earth from 18,000 miles

NASA photo

Don't throw out your woollens yet, but Mother Earth may be warming up

## Take heart, Earth may be getting warmer

By Robert C. Cowen  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Although parts of the Northern Hemisphere seem headed for the coldest winter so far this century, Earth's climate itself just may be getting warmer.

The climate was warming up in the early decades of this century, but that tendency turned into cooling in the 1940s. Now, over the past 5 to 10 years, the cooling trend itself has leveled off, with some hint that there may be warming.

In America so far this season, the states west of the Rocky Mountains and

Alaska have been having warmer than normal weather. But east of the Rockies, the winter has been extremely cold. Recent temperatures in the Northeast have averaged 10 to 11 degrees F. below normal, while in the Great Plains they have dropped below normal by 12 to 19 degrees. J. Murry Mitchell Jr., climatologist with the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, says that the 30-day forecast east of the Rockies is more of the same. If that happens, he observes, "a month from now we can say we have just about made it for the coldest winter this century at least."

Meanwhile, the climate itself does not

seem to be getting colder.

Academician Mikhail I. Budyko, a Soviet climatologist of world reputation, says that not only has Earth's cooling ended but that substantial warming has set in, due partly to carbon dioxide pollution. This gas in the atmosphere acts like the glass of a greenhouse to retain warmth.

Academician Budyko told the Soviet government press agency Novosti that: "If the present rapid trend towards a warmer climate continues, in 5 to 10 years, climatic conditions will appear which have not been observed for many centuries." \*Please turn to Page 13

## Hunger: more threatening than bombs

Egypt's riots symbolize new politics of food

By Joseph C. Harsch

In Egypt riots stormed through Cairo and Alexandria in protest against higher food prices, while in the United States Jimmy Carter was flying from Plains, Georgia, to Washington to become the 39th American President.

The riots underlined the most urgent problem awaiting the attention of the new President. Egypt is only one of many countries in the world in economic difficulties, so serious as to endanger political stability.

President Anwar al-Sadat and his American connections were the targets of slogans of the rioters in Egypt. President Sadat's political survival is essential to any Mideast settlement. Mr. Carter wants that settlement. He will probably have to do something to help Mr. Sadat overcome his economic problems if Mr. Sadat is to survive long enough politically to be able to play a peacemaking role in the Middle East.

But Mr. Carter has his own economic problems. He is under pressure to take employment levels without at the same time setting off another wave of inflation. How much can he do for Egypt and other poor and needy countries while at the same time coping with his home problems and those of his military and economic allies in the Western trading community?

Food shortages and rising food prices are at the heart of the world's worst problems today. The action is potential. There is no world-wide world conqueror like an Adolf Hitler immediately threatening to upset the peace. But under the surface calm is the gnawing dissatisfaction of people in the poorer countries, and in some less poor.

Food prices have caused riots in recent times in Poland. They could be repeated any day. The government of Poland finds itself unable to satisfy the food demands of its people at prices acceptable to them. Soviet loans may tide Polish party leader Edward Gierk over his immediate problems. But Moscow, like Washington, is stretched to meet its economic problems at home and at the same time provide help to its clients.

The Egyptian food riots are a symptom of the "North-South" problem — the relationship between the wealthy and advanced northern industrial countries and the poor and underdeveloped countries to the south.

Will something now be done about it? World Bank president Robert McNamara is leading a campaign to persuade Mr. Carter to support early action where for years there has been only stagnation.

There is an important difference between the Washington of yesterday and the Washington of today in this respect. Mr. McNamara and his ideas about trying to improve the condition

\*Please turn to Page 13

## Labour attacks upper house Pomp and 2,553 amendments — do they justify the House of Lords?

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

London

Is the House of Lords necessary?

This week the ruling Labour Party's national executive committee will decide whether or not to recommend abolition of Britain's venerable upper house to the party's annual conference in October. The party's home policy committee, headed by Energy Secretary Anthony Wedgwood Benn, already has decided to accept a report suggesting a single-chamber Parliament with the House of Commons both passing laws and revising them.

The whole subject, redolent of coronets and the swish of ermine-trimmed robes across red-carpeted floors, sounds like one of those quirky disputes in which this tradition-encrusted country delights. But it is a serious constitutional issue.

The British Parliament is made up of two houses, the Lords and the Commons. In the Commons sit 635 elected members from single-seat constituencies in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. It is in the Commons that all the most significant political issues are decided. It is here that Burke spoke in favor of the American revolutionaries and that Winston Churchill made his great wartime speeches.

In the Lords are entitled to sit 3 peers of the blood royal, 2 archbishops, 25 dukes (including the Duke of Edinburgh, who is not counted as being of the blood royal), 30 marquesses, 160 earls and countesses, 100 viscounts, 24 bishops, and no fewer than 700 barons and baronesses. Six peers are minors: When these are subtracted, a grand total of 1,134 peers have the right to attend sittings of the House of Lords. All are hereditary peers except for the archbishops and bishops and 265 barons and baronesses who are called life peers, since they hold their titles only during their own lifetime.

\*Please turn to Page 13

## Wanted: a meeting ground for black and white South Africans

By June Goodwin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

A search is on, both inside and outside this country, for some kind of middle ground where black and white South Africans can meet, talk, and possibly blunt the increasing polarization of their society.

The most prominent possibility is between white liberals and Inkatha, the National Cultural Liberation Movement of Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. The white opposition Progressive Reform Party (PRP) may form some kind of alliance with Inkatha.

The main selling point for Inkatha is that because Chief Buthelezi is within the government system, the government would be loathe to ban his organization. (The government did, however, ban an Inkatha circular published last year.)

White liberals are not the only people interested in Inkatha. Two banned black organizations, the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), are both



By Peter Main, staff photographer

Buthelezi extends hand to whites

in contact with Chief Buthelezi. The Nigerian Government also is keenly interested. Chief Buthelezi, who speaks out against

\*Please turn to Page 13







## Europe

### Greek raid smashes vital link in drug trade

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Athens Teamwork in several countries has smashed at least one important link in the chain between the Middle East drug producers and narcotics peddlers in the United States and Western Europe.

The Greek Coast Guard's seizure Jan. 5 of what may have been the biggest haul of drugs ever captured at sea — 10 tons of Lebanese hashish, worth up to \$100 million on the street in the United States — is leading investigators to some important conclusions.

• The Lebanese civil war, which lasted from April, 1975, to November, 1976, left virtually intact — and probably even increased — the production of vintage Lebanese hashish. The type taken aboard the Cyprus-registered motorship Gloria, as the ship entered the Coriath Canal near Athens bound from Lebanon for Antwerp, Belgium, was the kind called Lebanese Red, which commands top prices.

• The drug merchants operating in this part of the world have grown bolder since the breakdown of law and order brought by the Lebanese civil war. Questioning of the Gloria's captain, Nicholas Xanthopoulos, of a Lebanese shipping agent arrested in Athens named Antonio Srou, and others has disclosed that large quantities of the Lebanese hash have been moving quite openly into Western marijuana markets, both before and since the occupation of Lebanon by the Syrian peacekeeping force.

• The network of informants which enables narcotics officers to track down the traffickers is functioning well at present. The Gloria was watched from the moment she left the Lebanese coast. Greek Coast Guardsmen pounced the moment she entered Greek territorial waters. Two Turkish members of her crew, apparently well aware that her cargo of Lebanese emboldened concealed the flat blocks of Lebanese Red between the folds of the crated textiles, panicked and were flushed out of hiding only by some shooting by the boarding party.

Censorship recently established in Beirut may prevent reporting of what, if anything, the Syrian military and Lebanese authorities are doing to curb the cultivation and trade in hashish. This is the main livelihood of a large group of people living in Lebanon's central Bekaa Valley, between the towns of Zahle and Baalbek. Before the civil war, hundreds of young Americans and Europeans who found it easy to buy hash cheaply there also discovered, to their grief, that the sellers were police informants.

When leftist gunmen emptied Beirut jails last April, the last of the prisoners serving drug offenses there were released. But the hashish trade, and that in harder drugs too, has continued.

The capture of the Gloria, according to narcotics experts here, may help to discover more details of the hard-drug receiving points in Antwerp, Amsterdam, and other places where heroin and heroin base (made from opium pop-



In two months, it will be time for the opium harvest in Turkey

pies) are channelled to the United States.

Within two more months, a crucial period for drug-control measures begins in Turkey, when it comes time to harvest the Turkish opium crop in five Turkish provinces where opium poppy cultivation is legal and government-controlled.

There have been allegations by Greek Cypriot authorities, so far unsupported elsewhere, that Turkish authorities are not taking any ac-

tion against hashish and even opium poppy cultivation in the Turkish-occupied northern zone of Cyprus.

Both Turkey and Greece impose extremely severe border controls, watching for drugs moving westward from Afghanistan, Iran, and Asia's "golden triangle" of Burma, Laos, and Thailand. Two West German girls now are under capital sentences in a Turkish prison for drug traffic.

### 'Stop giving France lessons,' Giscard tells world critics

By Jim Browning  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris An embattled President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has launched a drive to improve sagging confidence in his economic and political leadership.

At a major press conference here, he also addressed a sharp warning to those nations and international news organizations which criticized France's rapid release of Abu Daoud, the Palestinian suspected of planning the 1972 Munich Olympic attack on Israeli athletes.

Although he did not name them, Mr. Giscard d'Estaing appeared to be referring to the governments of the United States and Israel, and to a number of the major newspapers of those countries, as well as of Britain and West Germany.

Dropping his usually relaxed smile throughout most of the press conference, the French President said sternly: "France has been the object of a campaign of insults [aimed at] damaging . . . her dignity and her honor."

"A certain number of countries," he added a few moments later, "do not accept France's independent government policy as we are conducting it."

"The foreign policy of France," he warned, paraphrasing a remark he attributed to Gen. Charles de Gaulle, "is not made and will not be made in the newsrooms of some of the international information media."

Speaking slowly and enunciating each word, he concluded: "France, her people and her laws have no lessons to receive from anyone, and I invite those who wish to be our friends to refrain from giving us their lessons."

President Giscard d'Estaing repeated the charge that West Germany had not followed proper diplomatic procedure while it was trying to decide whether to request Mr. Daoud's extradition.

He said France had shown great firmness in previous terrorist affairs. He avoided discussing the reasons for Mr. Daoud's arrest, the special court session which released him, or the international pressure exerted by Arab and Western countries during the four-day affair.

The President's public confidence rating plunged to a record low in November, although his popularity appeared to improve slightly in December, the monthly poll conducted by the newspaper France Soir showed only 41 percent satisfied with the President and 45 percent dissatisfied.

In 1976, France registered a trade deficit more than half again as high as the government had predicted last summer, with persistent double-digit inflation and unemployment remaining as high as in 1975.

Moreover, Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac, who resigned as prime minister in August, has formed a new "popular movement" which leads many observers to question Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's authority over his presumed political allies.

The President had carefully prepared the Jan. 17 press conference to answer those questions. He announced that he does not intend to call early parliamentary elections (now scheduled for March, 1978). In addition, he denied persistent rumors that he is considering resigning before his seven-year term ends in 1981.

He also had to discuss a "messy political scandal involving government investigation of the murder of a prominent member of Parliament from Mr. Giscard d'Estaing's own Independent Republican Party.

### East German guard: on again, off again

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn East Germany Jan. 12 withdrew the extra guards it had posted outside the West German mission in East Berlin, but it was not yet clear whether this was a result of two vigorous protests lodged by the West German Government. Nor was it clear whether the East German authorities had abandoned their attempt to restrict entry to the mission.

The appearance of the guards Jan. 11 was thought to be connected with a recent wave of applications by East Germans for exit visas to leave for the West.

The extra guards turned away East German citizens who tried to enter the building. When the mission opened Jan. 12 visitors' identity papers were checked for a short while by the guards. But later the number of guards was cut from six to the usual two and visitors were again able to enter the building freely.

One West German Government protest was delivered to the East German Foreign Ministry on Tuesday night by Guntter Gaus, West

German Mission head in East Berlin. Afterward Mr. Gaus flew to Bonn to discuss the issue with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

The second protest was made to East German head of mission in Bonn, Dr. Michael Kohl.

The East Germans rejected the protests and accused the West German mission of interfering in their internal affairs.

But after the withdrawal of the extra guards Jan. 12 the West German Government spokesman said: "We, of course, hope that this change is a result of our government's protests."

The West German Mission, not called an embassy for legal reasons relating to the existence of two German states, is located on busy Hannoverstrasse Street in the center of East Berlin.

An exchange of missions was agreed to under the basic treaty signed between the two German states in December, 1972.

In the past few months up to 100,000 East Germans have asked permission to leave their country legally and live in West Germany.

### Police brutality trials: light sentences anger Portuguese

Secret police found guilty, get kid-glove treatment

By Helen Gibson  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon The leniency of the sentences being doled out by military tribunals to the secret police of Portugal's former authoritarian right-wing regime has caused widespread outrage and a change of law.

In the past six weeks, some three dozen members of the much-feared PIDE (International Police for Defense of the State) political police have been standing trial after being committed to jail following the coup that toppled the Salazar-Caetano regime in April, 1974.

While there has been much criticism on the length of time taken to bring these men — top agents, informers, brigade, and section chiefs — to court, their jail sentences ranging from six months to 3½ years have been widely protested as far too light.

An indication of the trend the trials were taking came when a PIDE brigade chief was released last month with a "suspension of political rights for the next five years."

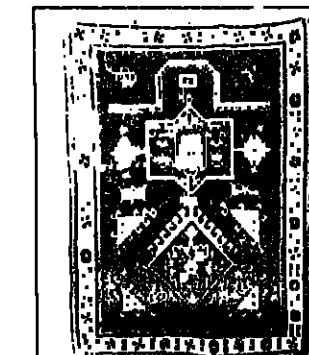
Later, PIDE officer António Domingues, accused of shooting down a Communist sculptor, José Dias Coelho, in 1961, received a sentence of 3½ years, giving him his freedom in another 11 months. The military court said it could find no proof of intent to kill, although it admitted that the accused had fired twice voluntarily and was standing very close to the victim for the second shot. Mr. Domingues's sentence was further softened by some additional "special extenuating circumstances" — "his previous good behavior" and his "partial confession."

#### Law's effect timely

It was these "extenuating circumstances" that drove the government to rapidly revise the law. The alterations — which were passed unanimously in Parliament — deleted, for example, the possibility of using a PIDE man's "valuable service in the exercise of his functions" as a reason for more clemency. Other equally questionable considerations were similarly eliminated.



Teng Hsiao-ping: waiting



Antique Kazak Prayer Rug

This Kazak was purchased for \$18.00, in 1886. In 1930, it was worth \$100.00. In 1946 it increased to \$250.00 and in 1960 it was worth \$350.00. In 1965 it increased to \$500.00, and today it is valued at over \$1000.00.

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### Do posters down mean up with Teng?

By Ross H. Munro  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
©1977 Toronto Globe and Mail

Peking Ten days of political posters, it seems, were enough.

Some time after midnight Jan. 15, when few Chinese and apparently no foreigners were watching, workmen and security forces removed every scrap of every political poster that had been put in Tien An Men Square, Peking, since Jan. 6.

The central issue raised by the posters is the role of twice-purged former Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping. Chinese citizens now are freely telling foreigners that Mr. Teng is a good man and that relatively soon he will be visibly back at work in some government or party post.

Mr. Teng's return to public life, in other words, seems to have been agreed to in principle by everyone up to and including Chairman Hua Kuo-feng, who just nine months ago was castigating him for his "counter-revolutionary revisionist line."

Why then the delay in Mr. Teng's reappearance? Sources close to the Chinese Government hint that the explanation lies in Mr. Hua's style, which is supposed to be deliberate and slow. An investigation into Mr. Teng's activities must be completed, these sources suggest, before he is officially cleared and allowed to make a reappearance. Given the criticism of Mr. Teng that is on the record, this approach is understandable. But it does not satisfactorily explain why supporters of Mr. Teng thought it was necessary to launch a poster campaign on his behalf.

The best available explanation for the pro-Teng posters is high-level disagreement over exactly what positions he will be given and how much power he will wield.

Perhaps one of the most revealing posters during the brief campaign was one demanding that Mr. Teng be restored to all the posts he

held before he was booted out last April. This referred not so much to the position of vice-premier as to the position of Communist Party vice-chairman. A day after that poster appeared another one was put up, this time explicitly calling for his being named party vice-chairman. If this happened, Mr. Teng would be third-ranking member of the party after Chairman Hua and Yeh Chien-ying, the Minister of Defense.

It may be that Mr. Hua and his supporters, while agreeing to Mr. Teng's return, were resisting attempts to make him a party vice-chairman because of the formidable power this would give him when combined with a premiership or even a vice-premiership.

In response to this resistance, Mr. Teng's

backers gave the go-ahead for the poster campaign. But by the end of the week it seemed that little had been resolved and that, if there had been a high-level meeting under way, as seems likely, no clear-cut decisions regarding Mr. Teng were reached.

The apparent lack of resolution of the Teng case could be interpreted as a victory for Mr. Hua in light of the poster campaign pressing for Mr. Teng's quick return. Despite orchestrated pressure, Mr. Hua — or somebody — resisted. In fact, many observers think the tone of the posters calling for Mr. Teng's return became much more tentative by the end of the week. This change may have reflected a realization among pro-Teng forces that they had not won their case, at least for the time being.



Prime Minister Indira Gandhi

AP photo

Things are looking just fine, thank you

### With her house in order, Mrs. Gandhi answers door

Elections in India to be held in March

By Robert Kilborn Jr.  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

There is one simple explanation for Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's dramatic decision to dissolve Parliament and hold elections in March:

She must think that she finally has things in that huge and diverse country right where she wants them.

The move has set long-time observers of Indian affairs to wondering whether it is also the first step toward calling off the state of emergency that has been in force there for more than 19 months.

From nearly all quarters — economic, political, agricultural, military, and even in the international arena — come reports that India is making considerable headway in its drive to become not only the ranking power in the Indian Ocean but also in the so-called fraternity of nonaligned countries.

For example, its foreign exchange reserves are expected to top \$3 billion sometime this year — more than double what they were just two years ago. There was such a record grain harvest (118 million tons) last year that there were not enough warehouses and storage bins to hold it all. Exports not only are up, but they also have become diversified: Where once tea and jute led the field, sophisticated manufactured goods now do.

#### Outreach extended

Mrs. Gandhi has extended India's diplomatic outreach in the last year to Africa and the countries of the nonaligned fraternity to the extent that underdeveloped and developing countries now come calling in hopes of winning Indian technical assistance. Even relations with the United States — chilly at best under

the Nixon and Ford administrations — seem likely to improve. A new U.S. president has been inaugurated, and a new ambassador to New Delhi must be appointed.

The Indian military is large, stable, and experienced on several fronts. The Navy, particularly, is presented with the luxury of rethinking its entire strategy and re-equipping itself under peacetime conditions.

But it is in the political sector that Mrs. Gandhi has felt the least secure. Now that, too, appears to have changed to her satisfaction.

The political opposition has not prospered under the emergency. Mrs. Gandhi has succeeded in keeping it off balance much of the time and, with most of the prominent opposition leaders in jail, their parties have found it difficult to get together on a common stand against her. Lately even her longstanding supporter, the Communist Party of India, has been driven into estrangement — perhaps to the point that it can never recover.

#### Some opponents freed

Within the past few weeks Mrs. Gandhi has begun releasing opposition leaders in ones and twos, most recently the octogenarian Morarji Desai, on Jan. 18. Mr. Desai, a former deputy prime minister, has been one of her most persistent foes.

Now there are reports that a unified party is to be formed this week of four of the present opposition groups. But it is unlikely that it will be able to pull itself together in time to offer any kind of viable alternative to Mrs. Gandhi's own state of candidates.

With the opposition in disarray and such other sectors as the press and the courts destined to remain under the administration's thumb even after the emergency is lifted, India-watchers ask whether Mrs. Gandhi has reason to continue it if the elections come off heavily in her favor, as expected. They recall that it was on grounds that the opposition was promoting anarchy that the emergency was imposed in the first place.



# Soviet Union

## Prices fall with fanfare and rise with whispers

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

The fur-hatted, winter-overcoated crowd jostled and craned around the counter in Moscow's biggest store, GUM. Prices on some Soviet-made cassette tape recorders had just gone down.

Suddenly, with a sigh of relief, a man emerged from the melee, the new owner of a small Vyesna ("spring") model that cost him 185 rubles (\$222.75) a markdown of 17.5 percent.

The scene highlights much about how the Soviet consumer is faring as 1977 gets under way. With loud fanfare, the government has lowered some prices. With much less fanfare, it has raised others. The resulting consumer picture is mixed, in a land where consumers traditionally take a back seat to heavy industry and military needs.

The marked-down tape recorder was of average quality. The much better reel-to-reel model on a nearby shelf showed no reduction at 200 rubles (\$270). And the reduced price on the Vyesna was still much more than the average Russian officially is reported to earn each month (146 rubles, or \$187.10).

A tour of Moscow by this correspondent showed that the items reduced (including refrigerators, light imitation-leather women's boots, a black and white model TV set, some knitwear, some electric shavers) are generally of average to poor quality. Some observers see the reductions as the Soviet version of a January sale in the West.

More expensive, however, are just the kind of items that slowly rising expectations here cause consumers to reach out for — carpets (now up 50 percent), new books with better bindings (details now known yet), silk fabrics (as much as 70 percent higher), and clothing made to measure (about 30 percent).

Although only about 10 percent of Soviet citizens would use tailoring shops, those whose sizes differ in any way from the standard ones here often depend on them — as do those who decide to get something a bit better than usual.

In addition, the consumer has been warned that taxi fares are to double April 1 to 28 cents per kilometer (0.6 miles). This is still cheap by Western standards. Air fares will go up 20 percent. Boat fares also will rise.

Several hours of price checking reveal just how high prices are here compared to the West, especially given lower average salaries.



Taxi fares are to double in the Soviet Union. Air and boat fares will also rise. Sleigh rides will stay the same.

Observers grant that a Soviet family that lives in a tiny apartment or in one room needs fewer possessions than an American family in a house or a spacious apartment. Some costs here are low — rents, for instance. Health care is free.

Yet items that most Westerners take for granted still represent big outlays here.

Soviet officials preceded the price change announcements by several days of public statements that prices here are much more stable than in the West, since "there can be no inflation" in the controlled Soviet economy.

They emphasized that prices of basic foods and other items would stay the same.

And Nikolai Glushkov, chairman of the State

Prices Committee, revealed that the government spends more money to keep meat and milk prices down than it admits to spending on defense. The subsidy: 19 billion rubles (\$25 billion).

Yet Muscovites and foreigners who live here report that the only cheap meat contains bone and gristle. It varies widely in quality — and shortages from the 1975 bad harvest season continue. Thursdays are still mandatory "meatless days" in Moscow restaurants.

Good cuts of meat can cost \$2 a pound or more (\$4.70 per kilogram). For people in service industries (teachers, nurses, etc.), who earn about \$130 a month, that can add up.

Of the items that have been reduced in So-

viet shops, one young Muscovite sniffed, "They are the ones that no one wants." And there is some truth in his comment, though he was not completely right.

The fur-hatted, gray-overcoated man who bought the tape recorder in GUM looked happy enough.

Only medium to poor quality vacuum cleaners were marked down (from \$12 to \$5). The top model was reduced only \$1.35 (from \$73.65 to \$72.30). Only the smallest refrigerators (3.6 cubic feet) were lower (down from \$230 to \$216). Larger Soviet models, which are far more popular, are as high as \$450, with imports up to \$675.

## With the push of a button, Ivan discovers 'pedestrian power'

By David K. Willis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow

The onslaught of jaunty new Zhiguli, Moskvitch, Volga, and other cars on the Soviet Union — the auto age, Western-style — is causing new concern here.

Although traffic jams are still rarer and congestion generally lighter than in the West, so many new cars (1.2 million a year) are zipping up and down city streets that officials are looking to the West for ways to cut down congestion, and to lower accident and pollution rates.

Here in Moscow, where traffic is thickening noticeably, a fresh set of plans has been announced to come to grips with it.

They include such novelties (for Moscow) as computer-controlled traffic lights, pedestrian buttons at intersections, new plastic traffic lights with enlarged lenses, restricting trucks downtown from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m., and parking lots with hourly fees on roads leading into the city center.

One intriguing note: According to the Jan. 12 edition of the government newspaper Izvestia, another kind of traffic light is to be added for trams and buses. The color will be "moonlight" — presumably a pale yellow.

Pedestrian buttons already have been installed on some Moscow side streets. Traffic lights above them turn orange as soon as the button is pushed.

"It's fun," says one Muscovite who has tried them. "You see a car coming fast, then you push the button, and he skids to a stop."

And you cross — nonchalantly.

But although the sign by the button clearly says "push if you want to cross," relatively few people have used the system so far. "They don't seem to understand what it's about," says one pedestrian.

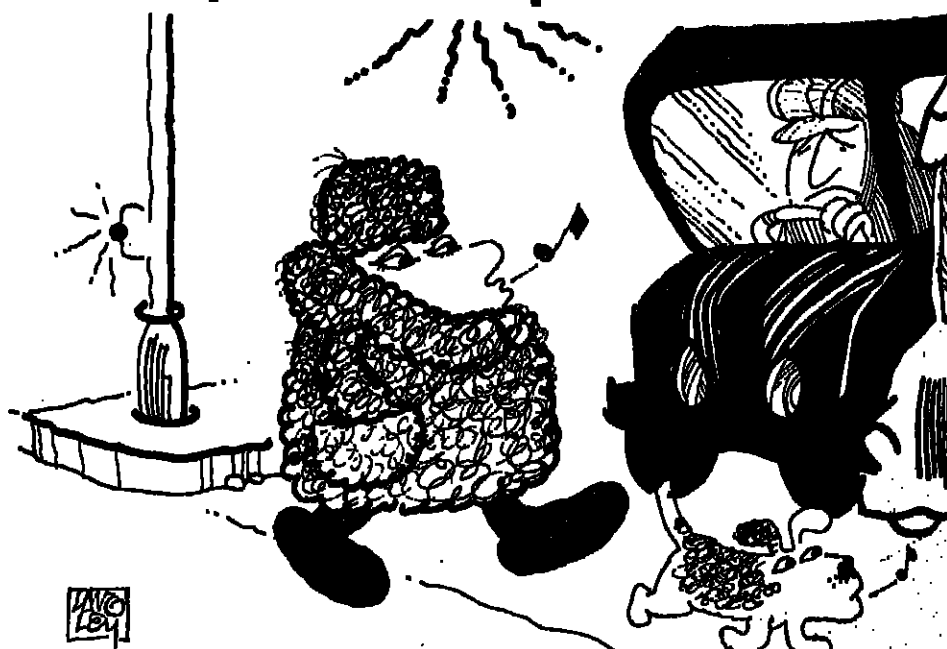
The latest moves, revealed in an Izvestia interview with the Chief of Moscow's traffic police, militia Maj. Gen. Alexei Nozdryakov, follow a battery of others in recent years to keep traffic under control.

A speed limit of 60 kilometers (about 37 miles) per hour is in force in Soviet cities. Seat belts have been mandatory in new cars since 1975. All applicants for driving licenses are supposed to have had driver instruction courses — an important provision in a land with no long tradition of automobiles and where driving is too often affected by vodka and inexperience.

Publicity about the need for more road safety is frequent. Major General Nozdryakov says road fatalities in Moscow in 1976 were down 8.7 percent from the year before. He said the accident rate has gone down from 17.7 to 13.9 per 1,000 vehicles in the last five years.

Precise totals are unavailable. But on the basis of an estimated 300,000 cars in Moscow, this works out to 4,170 accidents last year — a 30 percent improvement from the 6,000 officially reported for Moscow for 1973.

But the accident rate remains high across the country. The New York Times correspondent Hedrick Smith, a former Moscow bureau chief, says in his book "The Russians" that he was told that in 1974, the Soviet Union had at



most the same number of accidents (45,000) as the United States (46,200) although it had far fewer cars. Mr. Smith also reports the fatality rate was 10 times higher here.

In an effort to make up for the lack of an automobile tradition here, officials have set up traffic safety programs for children, including at least one miniature "motor city" in Moscow where children learn the rules in simulated conditions.

Yet much remains to be done. The new plans announced for Moscow (which may

spread to other cities if successful) should help, but they will take several years to get under way. Some streets already have computer-operated traffic lights: Five more are to have them by 1980.

Regulating trucks will be a major job: the plan is to issue one-time or permanent passes for the downtown area. A recent survey surprised city officials by showing that one-third of the 6,000-7,000 trucks downtown every day are empty or half-filled — and another 10 percent are in transit to somewhere else.

# Africa

## Soweto students give South Africa six months grace

By June Goodwin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

The student activists of the huge black township of Soweto, on the outskirts of Johannesburg, have given the South African Government six months to prove that it really means to put through meaningful changes in its race policy.

In the meantime, the students are returning to school to take their exams. There has been a boycott of schools in Soweto ever since the middle of last year when the activists of the Soweto Students' Representative Council (SSRC) spearheaded the first protests in the township against what they felt were the injustices in the Bantu (African) education system. Those protests touched off intermittent protest elsewhere in South Africa — from both blacks and Coloureds (those of mixed race).

A black source in close touch with SSRC says the council insists that if the government has not given concrete proof of change by June, then the council will plan new action.

The changes in Bantu education recently promised by the government have still to be officially promulgated in documents.

The six-month interim is also intended by the SSRC to give it more time to reinforce its ties with the community. (Not all blacks — particularly of the older generation — have given their backing to SSRC initiatives since the first trouble in Soweto last year.)

The six-months trial period could be shattered by isolated acts of sabotage. Activist groups are unshrouding in black urban areas, according to well-informed Soweto sources.

Any one of these groups — which usually do not have an allegiance to any political organization — could carry out an act of urban terrorism. It would be likely, the government's position would be likely to harden. "I don't want just change any more. I want a new system," said one black Soweto professional.

"More people now believe in radical action, but there is still moderate thinking behind it,"

said one black activist. "Anti-white feeling is strong, but people still want peaceful change. We don't expect things to change overnight. If the Group Areas Act is scrapped, we don't expect blacks to suddenly move into white areas — they won't be able to afford it."

"[Prime Minister John] Vorster should talk to the real leaders, elected ones, not his appointees. He should have a national convention."

In the black townships around Cape Town, school attendance is returning to normal more slowly than in Soweto. Black and white liberal sources say this is because the African National Congress (ANC) — one of the two main outlawed black nationalist movements — cells are more organized underground in the Cape than in the rest of the country.

Among many students however, ANC has reportedly lost a good deal of ground. In early November, 48 youths who had fled South Africa were led by the ANC into thinking they would be able to continue their education when they joined ANC and were moved from neighboring Botswana to Tanzania, according to Soweto sources. When the youths arrived in Tanzania and were pressed into military training, they rebelled and returned to Botswana.

The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) — the other outlawed movement — has reportedly fared better, with many students being enlisted in Swaziland. But the PAC has had problems too. According to a white source, two students returned to South Africa after they had joined the PAC in Botswana and found themselves fighting with UNITA troops in the residual civil war in southern Angola.

Meanwhile, more and more whites accept that there must be change. Businessmen especially are being hard hit by recession, are laying off white and black workers, and investing less. "We're waiting for political direction," said one businessman.

The blacks trying to force change are also now waiting for the government to move — or not move — before they determine their next strategy.



Imbali Bantu Township, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa

By John E. Young

In some townships, school attendance is returning more slowly than in Soweto

## Britain's plan to jump-start stalled Rhodesian talks

By Geoffrey Godsell  
Overseas news editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Britain has come up with new proposals intended to get the stalled Geneva conference on Rhodesia going again.

The conference chairman, Britain's Ivor Richard, currently in Africa, was in Cape Town Tuesday — presumably to put the new proposals to South African Prime Minister John Vorster. Mr. Vorster is a key figure in the Rhodesia crisis. He is the best placed to put effective pressure — if so inclined — on Rhodesia's white Prime Minister Ian Smith to be more willing to yield speedily on the question of black majority rule in his country.

Mr. Smith has called the Geneva conference "a dead duck" in recent days and has indicated that he was unwilling to continue parleying within the Geneva framework. As Mr. Smith sees it, Mr. Richard has allowed things at Geneva to drift away so far from the promises which white Rhodesians believe they got

from U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger last September that there is no point — indeed no obligation — for continued negotiation.

Announcing Britain's new proposals in London Jan. 17, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland said that "they will involve a British presence, playing what I hope may be a key role in the spheres of law and order and defense."

There are the two spheres at the center of what Mr. Smith argues Secretary Kissinger guaranteed last September: In return for negotiating a transfer to majority (i.e. black) rule within two years, whites would be allowed to continue in the interim in charge of law and order and defense. (The Rhodesian security forces, integrated at lower levels, are white-controlled. Many inside and outside Rhodesia believe that if white control were removed immediately, while components in the security forces might walk off their jobs and there would probably be a breakdown of law and order.)

Mr. Crosland's remark in London suggests that Britain may now be proposing to provide (or oversee) the white hands in whose control law and order and defense would be during a transfer of political power from whites to blacks. Till now, the most that Britain has been willing to do on the spot in Rhodesia is provide a high commissioner who would be a figurehead and referee during the transition period.

Mr. Smith and other white Rhodesians have hitherto been scornful and hostile toward suggestions of any British role in their country. They are unlikely to change their thinking now — unless perhaps South African Prime Minister Vorster gives them reason to.

Mr. Vorster — although much more tight-lipped than Mr. Smith — is reported none too happy himself about the way the Geneva conference has gone. If Mr. Richard is to regain Mr. Vorster's full support for the Geneva effort (and the course in which it is heading), he will probably have to produce at least some convincing evidence that the black nationalists

in Rhodesia will call off their guerrilla warfare against Rhodesian whites as soon as agreement is reached on installation of an interim government.

Mr. Richard has still to get that from the Rhodesian nationalists — although Zambia's President Kaunda, one of the nationalists' most important patrons, did give Mr. Richard an assurance Jan. 11 that the Guerrilla war would be halted once an interim government acceptable to all parties were installed in Rhodesia.

The Presidents of the neighboring African states of Zambia, Tanzania, Mozambique, Botswana, and Angola have this month endorsed the Patriotic Front of Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe as their candidate to inherit political power in Rhodesia. Mr. Mugabe is closer to the guerrillas than any other African principal involved at Geneva. He may thus be the best placed to deliver a guerrilla cease-fire. But ironically, his radical views dismay both Mr. Smith and Mr. Vorster.

Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe say they want any new British proposals put in writing before considering them. Before leaving Nairobi for Cape Town Tuesday, Mr. Richard said he now had a written formulation of Britain's latest suggestions.

Meanwhile, there is speculation that in Rhodesia, Mr. Smith may be pondering whether or not henceforward to refuse to deal with Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Mugabe.

An alternative for the Prime Minister might be a dialogue — and even a deal — with the nationalist leader pushed to the sidelines by the African front-line presidents' Bishop Abel Muzorewa. The Bishop is not without support among Rhodesian blacks, but he now is left without an outside patron and has minimal links with the guerrillas. The great risk for the Bishop (and Mr. Smith) is that he could easily be discredited and rejected in black Africa as a whole if he were seen "to sell out" to Mr. Smith.

## Podgorny's anti-West tone to coming Africa visit

By Paul Wohl  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

An indication of the importance the Kremlin attaches to the coming visit to southern Africa by Soviet President Nikolai V. Podgorny is a long article by Mr. Podgorny published in Kommunist, the theoretical and political journal of the Soviet Party's Central Committee.

Any article in Kommunist has to be cleared by the Politburo.

A year ago the Kremlin would have assigned Defense Minister Andrei Grechko or Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko to southern Africa. By sending Mr. Podgorny, one of the Kremlin's top men, Moscow has sought to give the visit unusual authority.

Toward the end of the section "Socialism and Democracy," four paragraphs give the article a sharp anti-Western slant and set the tone for Mr. Podgorny's mission.

This is what the Soviet President says: "Twice in the course of this century imperialist reaction has started horrible wars, which have cost millions of lives; it has unleashed aggression in Europe, Asia, Africa . . . which led to the setting up of fascist regimes, to mass genocide. . . . These same forces today fight the liberation movements in the southern parts of the African continent," writes the Soviet President.

"Today, the darkest powers of militarism and reaction nurture plans endangering all

mankind; they stand in the wings of counter-revolutionary conspiracies, seek to bring to naught détente, and to sow distrust and hatred among states."

"The Communist Party and the Soviet state have launched a peace offensive to overcome the resistance of the enemies of détente and broadened the front of their foreign policy to meet specific tasks (a reference to Mr. Podgorny's African mission)."

"The great October revolution [that brought the Communists to power in Russia in 1917] has for all times welded together the notions of war and peace and turned them into a watershed, on the one side, the forces of democracy and progress, on the other side imperialism and reaction."



# United States

## U.S. shivers as temperatures and gas fall to record low

By George Moneyhun  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

The natural gas emergency that has hit wide areas of the United States is primarily a delivery problem — not a fuel-supply shortage, according to industry experts.

"The ability of our pipelines to deliver the gas is being taxed beyond their capacity," explains Jerome McGrath, executive vice-president of the Interstate Natural Gas Association of America. "We just can't get it to the people fast enough," he says.

Government officials agree, at least in part.

Albert Bass, gas supervisor, Office of Oil and Gas Analysis in the Federal Energy Administration, says, "Yes," delivery is the problem in some areas — but not nationwide. "The Southern Natural Gas Company serves the Southeast and it is running near capacity due to cold weather," he said. "They've cut back industry to supply only plant protection gas because it's 50 percent colder than normal weather there."

But "there is a fuel supply shortage in some places — and things are worsening due to extremely cold weather for prolonged periods," he added.

While officials in several Northeastern states declared emergencies and ordered industries and residents to take conservation measures to quell the abnormally high demand for natural gas, pipeline company executives said their systems were "pulling as hard as they can" but that the unusually widespread dimensions of the bitter cold spell that has gripped the eastern two-thirds of the country forced them to reduce the supply of gas to customers as a precautionary measure.

Meanwhile, the electric utility companies that formed the "power pool" serving the Northeastern states reduced their voltage by 5 percent in order to send power to states in the Midwest and South, where below-freezing temperatures hampered generating plants and caused blackouts in Ohio, Georgia, and Virginia.

James Eager, director of corporate communications for Transcontinental Gas Pipe Line Corporation in Houston — the major supplier of natural gas to 68 utilities in 11 Northeastern states — said in a telephone interview that cold weather in Texas also had caused problems and restricted the flow of gas on the producing end as well.

In Pennsylvania, where Gov. Milton J. Shapp declared a state of "extreme emergency," a spokesman for the Governor explained that "the problem is pressure, rather than supply. Everybody tips on the line early in the mornings — be-

tween 6 a.m. and 10 a.m. — and we're concerned that if it hits a critical point, supply will suddenly stop."

Many schools in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey were closed to reduce demand, and a number of large and small industries — including the giant U.S. Steel plant in Pittsburgh — were shut down. "If this is prolonged we could have an economic problem as well," remarks one Pennsylvania official.

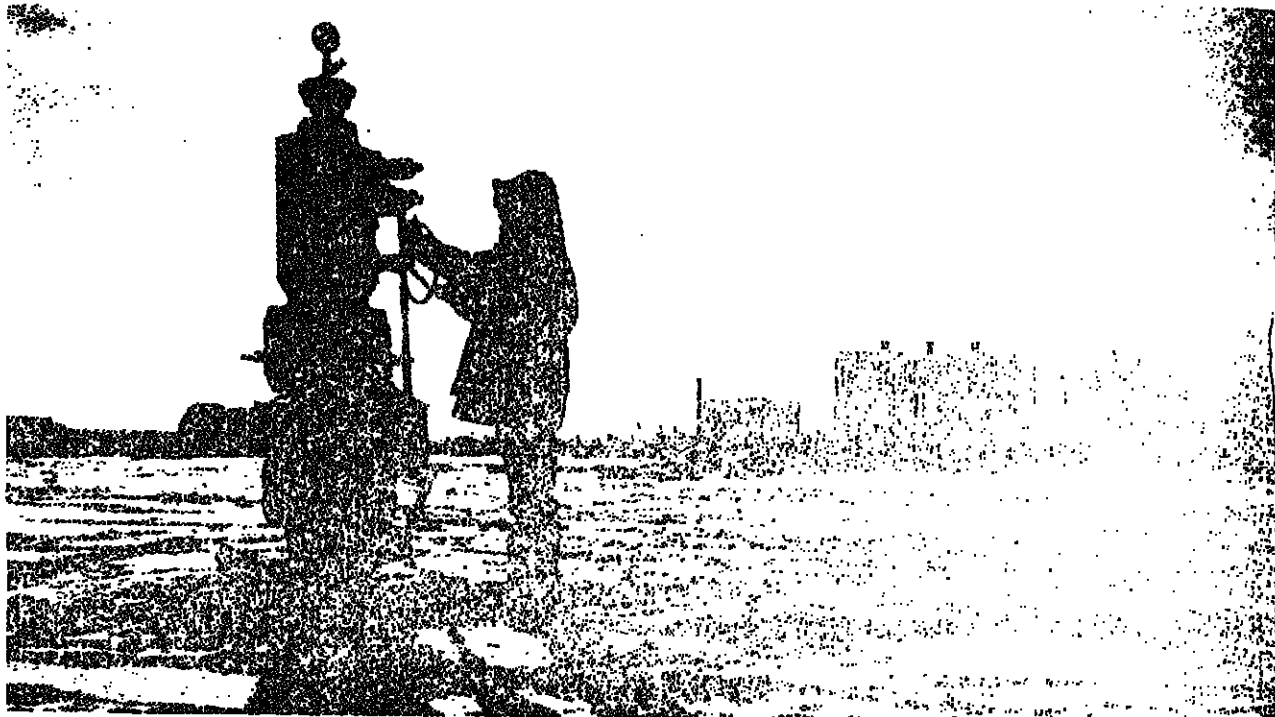
As of mid-day Tuesday there appeared little likelihood that residential users were in danger of having their supply cut off. However, from Washington, D.C., to New Jersey, utility companies were broadcasting repeated appeals to the public to turn down their thermostats and take other conservation methods to lower demands.

Gov. Brendan Byrne urged New Jersey residents to do four things: keep their houses at 68 degrees or lower and wear warmer clothes; turn the thermostat to 60 degrees one hour

before bedtime; let "laundry pile up and give your dishwasher a rest"; and take showers or not bathe — and make them short showers.

Ed Anderson, a spokesman for New Jersey's Public Service Electric & Gas Company, explained that like other utilities in the area, his firm's supply had been reduced by 35 percent. "We're asking commercial and industrial [customers] to cut back on their use, and we're asking residents to lower their thermostats five to seven degrees if possible. What impact our appeal is having, we don't know yet."

Pipeline company officials estimate that they can continue pumping at the current reduced level of 10 percent of contract demand for another four to five days. In the nationwide cold spell does not let up by then and forecasts Tuesday called for a continuation of the record near zero temperature in the Northeast, further cut may be necessary to keep these supplies in underground storage facilities from being depleted.



Deep gas well on Kenai Peninsula, Alaska

Message to gas users: lower thermostats; take shorter hot showers; and wash clothes less often

## To the rescue: Industrial Big Three plan to head off global slump

By Richard L. Strout  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

One of the biggest international economic rescue efforts in modern history is taking shape here. The object is to coordinate the world's three kingly economies — United States, West Germany, and Japan — into a synchronized effort to revive the world economy and head off a possible new global slump.

These steps have been taken or are planned: — The new Carter administration, has sent Richard E. Cooper, Yale economist and designated undersecretary of state for economic affairs, to Tokyo to coordinate policies.

— Vice-President Walter F. Mondale is

scheduled to make a worldwide, high visibility swing in furtherance of the same international goals, again with focus on Germany and Japan.

— President Carter is expected to attend a new economic summit conference this summer, possibly in Washington, duplicating the summit conference last June in Puerto Rico attended by President Ford.

The likely Carter summit conference will focus on stimulating the world economy, particularly of the big three nations, whereas Mr. Ford's meeting in Puerto Rico was designed to put a damper on global inflation by preaching a go-slow approach. The Ford emphasis was justified at the time, it is believed, because a fast recovery from the worst recession in 40 years was confidently expected.

West Germany, Japan, Canada, France,

Britain, and Italy were represented at Puerto Rico. Since then the recovery has first faltered, and now picked up again, but the rate is not commensurate with the big gap left by the recession, though it is about as fast as those from smaller recessions of recent years.

Coordination is crucial, it is believed between the U.S., West Germany and Japan (A) to forestall restrictive practices and beggar-my-neighbor tariffs; (B) to revive world trade by coordinated domestic stimulative packages (like the \$30 billion, two-year pending Carter proposal in the United States); and (C) to make a common front to huge debt imbalances created by the quadrupling of oil prices and, in particular, to help developing and poor countries which have gigantic external debts, reckoned in one estimate at \$150 billion.

Banks in the leading European countries have international "Eurocurrency" loans out of perhaps \$275 billion. Nobody wants to think what would happen if a small country, like a small bank in the United States 100 years ago, simply declared itself insolvent. This is not going to happen, Western leaders confidently assert, but it is only reasonable to coordinate policies and set common goals so it can't happen.

This, in effect, is what's being done. The pending Carter economic stimulus package is being considered in the United States almost wholly as a domestic issue. Actually, for better or worse, it ties into world developments.

Last November the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), an economic directorate of industrial democracies, speaking from Europe, warned that global recovery is slow: that danger lights are flashing in Britain, Italy, France, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand, among others. And experts noted the huge petroleum-aggravated third world debts.

At the same time, leaders of the European Common Market decided at The Hague, to seek immediate contact with President-Elect Carter.

At hearings in Washington two weeks ago be-

fore the Senate Budget Committee new expressions of concern appeared. What is striking is the almost universal emphasis on the domestic inflation-unemployment problem in the United States, and not the world picture.

A big U.S. company selling abroad, however, is aware of the implications. Reginald H. Jones, head of General Electric Company, told the budget committee that the world economy is "precarious." Lawrence B. Krause, of Brookings, saw "substantial risk of a premature world recession starting later this year or early in 1978."

Leaders of the U.S., West Germany and Japan — the three "atomic" countries — are all telling each other to jump first, the water's fine, in the same process that could help to resolve weaker countries.

Such stimulus is applied, it is acknowledged at some risk of domestic inflation. West Germany and Japan are hesitant, and Mr. Carter proposes a cautious package, seemingly curtailed from earlier plans.



By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer  
Vice-President Walter F. Mondale

Off soon to pump up economy

## Sorensen exit stings Carter

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

More than anything else the withdrawal of Theodore Sorensen from his CIA appointment in the face of Senate opposition is being interpreted by observers here as:

1. A rebuff to President-Elect Jimmy Carter.  
2. A warning to the incoming President that while the overwhelmingly Democratic-constituted Congress is going to cooperate with him, he can count on no rubber stamp.

However, it seems clear that this in no way ends the honeymoon that both Republican and Democratic leaders have been predicting would be marked by a protracted period in which Mr. Carter would be accorded goodwill and cooperation from Congress.

Instead, it is seen by observers here as a rather special case, somewhat of an exception, where Mr. Sorensen's own acts — particularly those that involved the taking of classified documents from the White House when he left and using them in his 1965 book, "Kennedy," and his leaks of classified information to the press — were disturbing to many Democrats as well as Republicans in the Senate.

Before dropping out, Mr. Sorensen had insisted, in his remarks to the Senate Intelligence Committee, that he had acted with propriety — that the leaks had been approved by President John F. Kennedy at that time and that the assistant archivist of the United States had "informed me that [these papers] were regarded by both law and historic precedence as my own."

Mr. Sorensen, facing what he said was a "substantial portion of the U.S. Senate [that] is not ready to accept my nomination," said he was withdrawing his name.

"It is equally clear," he explained after first delivering a written statement that sounded as though he would fight for confirmation, "that to continue fighting for the post would only handicap" the President-Elect.

By dropping out, Mr. Sorensen made the rebuff of Mr. Carter a little less than if he had persisted — and then lost in the Senate vote.

But for days here the estimate of the damage that would be done to Mr. Carter should he lose the Sorensen appointment had been coming from politicians on both sides of the aisle in Congress. The consensus was that it would be "considerable."

"This same consensus focuses on what many here see to be 'bad judgment' in selecting Mr. Sorensen for the highly sensitive Central Intelligence Agency appointment."

"Knowing what Carter knew about Sorensen," one observer said, "he should have known that he would encounter all kinds of trouble in being confirmed."

Beyond that, the observer said, "Mr. Carter should have known better than put the controversial Mr. Sorensen in charge of the much put upon CIA. I'm not saying Sorensen isn't clean. He probably is. But he's just been involved too much in politics in the past to be the out of person to head the CIA at this particular point in history."

"I know that George Bush was also highly political, and I guess he worked out well. But Sorensen is a far more controversial figure than Mr. Bush."

# United States



UPI photo

Sorensen: 'fighting would handicap Carter'

## Gilmore execution: what it means on death row

By Judith Frutkin  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

While the legal battle to spare the life of convicted Utah murderer Gary Gilmore has ended before a three-man federal panel and a federal appeals court, the execution of the United States have only begun.

In 42 states, where 450 death-row inmates have been awaiting the outcome of the landmark Gilmore case, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and other organizations fighting the measure expect the act to open the door to a flood of legal executions across the country.

In other states, including California, which have legislatively ended capital punishment, lawmakers are expected to begin enacting new measures.

From Honolulu to Atlanta, pro- and anti-death-penalty organizations have begun mobilizing what is expected to be a continuing and bitter struggle.

In Texas, the television execution of Jerry Lane Jurek convicted of the murder of a 10-year-old girl was blocked Monday, Jan. 17, just two days before it was to take place.

In Utah, prison warden Sam Smith — the man required by state law to carry out Utah executions — expressed the concerns of many: "It's one thing to believe in capital punishment and another to carry it out," he said. "I am opposed to killing and violence."

But in Los Angeles, ACLU executive director Ramona Ripston, a long time opponent of the death penalty, reacted bitterly: "I weep for America today," she said. "We have a clear problem of violence in this country [but] the answer isn't to begin to legally kill people. The death penalty is morally and legally wrong. . . . It is not a deterrent."

In Texas, the televised execution of convicted Texas murderer Jerry Lane Jurek would have marked the first time such an event had been broadcast over video screens. It came in the wake of the decision by a federal judge there who declared that television stations have the same rights to cover events as a news reporter. The U.S. Supreme Court is still expected to rule on that issue.

But here in California as elsewhere, lawmakers are apprehensive about the effects of television executions on the outcome in coming weeks of proposed death-penalty legislation.

Mobilization of anti-death-penalty groups began with prayer vigils in areas as diverse as Portland, Oregon; San Antonio, Texas; Atlanta, Honolulu; Louisville and Lexington, Kentucky.

"We're protesting the Gilmore execution simply because he's the first," explains John Cron of the Kentucky Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty. "Many of us feel that once the ball gets rolling, there may be many more executions in the United States," he says.

While death-penalty cases have always been subjected to special scrutiny by the U.S. tribunals all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, the Gilmore case was considered an important test by the ACLU and other organizations in the bitter legal battle in this country over capital punishment.

Since 1830, when the federal department of prisons first began compiling figures on legal executions, 3,849 men and women have died before firing squads, on the gallows, or in gas chambers or electric chairs.

The Gilmore execution was the first in 9½ years — the last legal execution coming on June 2, 1967, when Luis Jose Monge was electrocuted in Colorado for the murder of his wife and 3 of their 10 children.

## Environmental quality drops

The overall quality of the environment in the United States declined again last year for the seventh straight time despite some improvements in the air and the forests, the National Wildlife Federation (NWF) said.

The annual measurement, based on seven environmental yardsticks, came out at 347 points on a scale of 700. The total was three points below 1975's figure and 48 points lower than the first time the calculation was made in 1969.

The NWF said five of its indicators — water quality, wildlife, living space, soil, and minerals — fell last year.

Air quality was described as "up a little" with particulate fallout decreasing at 5 percent a year and 90 percent of the fixed sources of air pollution now within limits or headed toward them, the group said.

But it noted that "urban pollution is spreading to rural areas" and the automobile still poses a problem.

Forest resources were also "up a little" because there was less demand for home building materials during the recession.

Washington



# United States

## Ice jams Midwest shipping

By Robert M. Press  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago  
One of the coldest winters in the history of the United States has struck particularly hard in the Midwest where:

- A 20-mile stretch of the Mississippi River south of St. Louis has just been closed because of ice. One of the few other times that part of the river has been closed for ice was in 1887 when horse-drawn carts of coal were driven across the frozen river at St. Louis to avoid bridge tolls.

- On land in St. Louis, the latest fad on "Art Hill" in front of the St. Louis Art Museum is sliding on tractor inner tubes that carry up to three or four people.

- Ice which may bring a rare halt to shipping on the Ohio River has left parts of West Virginia short of salt used to clear roads because river barges delivering it have been slowed.

- Texans are having the coldest weather since 1895, while December temperatures in Green Bay, Wisconsin, averaged 9 degrees above zero, the coldest on record there. But it was reported to be 40 degrees below zero in Cameroon, Wisconsin.

"This is one of the coldest winters in the history of the United States," says Lyle Denny of the National Weather Service. In the Eastern two-thirds of the nation — from the Rockies to the Atlantic — it has been "far colder than normal," he says. But the Western third of the country has been having slightly normal to above normal temperatures.



St. Louis from the Illinois bank

The Mississippi fills with ice in one of the coldest winters in U.S. history

In Washington, the Federal Power Commission held an emergency hearing to shape plans and recommendations for Congress on how to avoid any serious shortages of natural gas used for heating.

Also, the Winter Navigation Board of the Great Lakes was meeting to evaluate how the cold weather is affecting shipping. Although about a dozen ships are still fighting the ice — with the help of Coast Guard icebreakers — there is a definite possibility the excessive

freezing could stop all shipping, according to the Ice Navigation Center.

The decision to close one stretch of the Mississippi came Jan. 12 from the Ice Committee — composed of representatives of the Coast Guard, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and shippers.

Towboats have been advised to tie up immediately in parts of the river.

"Barge tows are trapped in the ice all up and down the river," says Mel Doernhoefer of

the corps in St. Louis. Adding to river obstacles was the breakup of 11 barges in tow by the Mariner. One barge sank, 12 have been "rounded up," and one is still missing.

The real concern now, in both the Ohio River and Mississippi, is that big chunks of ice in tributary rivers will loosen when temperatures warm and come smashing downstream.

In the winter of 1917 and 1918 some wooden-hulled steamboats on the Ohio River were ripped apart by such ice flows.

UPI photo

# To climb out of slump U.S. must help others

By Harry B. Ellis  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Exports now contribute so much to the U.S. economy — 10 percent of total gross national product (GNP) and nearly 9 million jobs — that the United States, for its own sake, must help its trading partners pull out of their economic slump.

Otherwise, says Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D) of Maine, the growth of U.S. exports will fall off and "a larger fiscal stimulus and budget deficit will be required if our domestic economic goals are to be reached."

To reduce American unemployment and speed up lagging U.S. economic growth, suggests a fresh report by the Senate Budget Committee, requires "vigorous export demand generated by a healthy world economy."

Foreign-trade figures for the last two years point up the problem. In 1975 the United States racked up an \$11.85 billion trade surplus. Last year the U.S. trade balance plunged about \$6 billion into the red, partly because other nations could not buy enough American goods to offset soaring U.S. imports.

"The world," says Lawrence B. Krause, senior fellow of the Brookings Institution, "is faced with substantial risk of a premature world recession starting later this year or early in 1978."

Against this background the leaders of France, Britain, West Germany, Japan, and other powers are urging Mr. Carter to attend an economic summit conference as soon as possible this spring.

Weaker economies — the British, Italian, and French among major nations — are falling deeper into debt to pay for oil from the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and are suffering ruinous inflation, with consequent high unemployment.

Over the past 12 months Italy's inflation rate was 21.3 percent, that of Britain 15 percent, and that of France 10.1 percent, according to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

Strong powers — those able to keep up their exports and attract OPEC investment funds — held inflation in check. Switzerland's rate was 0.9 percent, that of West Germany 3.7, while the U.S. experienced a 5 percent consumer price hike.

To prevent world recession, says Mr. Krause, the U.S., Japan, and West Germany all must pump up their economies to expand their ability to buy goods from other lands.

The U.S., says Mr. Krause, cannot do the job by itself.

West Germany and Japan, says Bert Lance, Mr. Carter's incoming budget director, "should help carry the burden of international stimulus."

Would such stimulus trigger fresh inflation? "Given the large amount of unused capacity in the world," says Mr. Krause, "there is little fear that a simultaneous expansion [by] the U.S., Germany, and Japan in 1977 would rekindle demand inflation."

Experts stress the self-interest of the United States in helping other nations to prosper. For example:

- Exports, reports the Senate Budget Committee, brought \$103 billion into the U.S. last year — 10 percent of the GNP, up from 5.5 percent in 1960.

- Each \$1 billion of U.S. exports, according to the Commerce Department, represents 40,000 to 70,000 jobs for American workers.

- If exports fail to grow in coming years — they expanded 11 percent yearly during the 1954-74 period — jobs either will be lost or the U.S. Government will have to pump-prime the economy through increased federal spending, thereby risking inflation and larger budget deficits.

# Who'll run the show for Carter?

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Questions being raised by veteran Washington presidential watchers about Jimmy Carter's newly picked White House staff are these:

Who will emerge as greater among equals?

If Mr. Carter's staff is to play a relatively subordinate role to the Cabinet — who will keep prodding Cabinet members to get their jobs done?

The view here is that whether the President wants it or not, the power in the White House soon will gravitate toward a few staff members.

Those staffers who seem most likely to accumulate clout as the weeks go on are presidential assistant Hamilton Jordan, press secretary Jody Powell, and presidential counsel Robert Lipshutz.

All three are Georgians. Messrs. Jordan and Powell long have been perceived as the aides closest to Mr. Carter — and this closeness will likely persist.

Therefore, while Mr. Carter is providing free access to all staffers, and seeking to end a chief of staff system where one person rides herd over the others — he may well be conferring more often with Messrs. Jordan and Powell than with others. Thus this close relationship, of itself, would transmit special powers to these subordinates.

Mr. Lipshutz may be a part of this top power team too, observers here believe. He will preside over the daily morning staff meetings and there seems to be early indication that younger staffers will turn to him for advice.

As one Carter insider has put it: "Lipshutz isn't as aggressive as some of the others. That is, he won't be pushing for influence. But he is highly respected by the Carter team. He's already becoming a leader in the group."

For years now the White House staff has been the driving force toward getting the vari-

ous administration departments to get their jobs done.

That is, staffers have pushed Cabinet members and other top administration officials to take action of various kinds and to put together programs — implementing presidential wishes but also serving as daily prods to bring about movement within the administration.

Often, of course, the staff has been a part of administration action, itself, with staff members taking the lead in formulating legislative and policy alternatives for the President to consider.

But this is all over, according to the Carter plan.

Now it will be up to Cabinet members and their organizations to be driving forces in moving the government forward — without the steady prodding and even nagging from White House staffers.

"This the President-elect intends to make into a successful operation — it is understood by playing a particularly strong and persistent manager's role himself.

He will be meeting particularly often with all of his Cabinet members. And all of his top people will have easy access to him — by phone or in person. Thus, it seems, that the President himself will be the chief coordinator and ramrod in his administration.

The questions posed here by this Carter intention are these:

Can a president find time to play such an active role in running the government? Obviously, observers here say, Mr. Carter felt he was able to function in this way when Governor of Georgia — but this new presidential canvas is something that is a much different, so much bigger, so much more complex. Can he do it?

Further, observers ask: If Mr. Carter finds he must begin to delegate some of his implementing and prodding to staffers — how will he be able to do this without, at least do factually, setting up a chief of staff system where one staffer becomes the chief coordinator and ramrod in the group?

# The Palestinians — another view

Some weeks ago, the Monitor carried a feature article seeking to answer the question: Who are the Palestinians? It was written by Francis H. Russell, a retired Ambassador of the U.S. Foreign Service who has served in top level diplomatic posts in both Israel and the Arab world. (He used as his sources for statements on the original settlers of Palestine, the Philistine-Canaanite-Phoenician civilization and the invention of the original Old Testament language Smith's Historical Geography of the Holy Land and Harper's Biblical Dictionary.) The article produced from readers — particularly from strong supporters of Israel — letters challenging some of the statements in it. In an effort to be fair, the Monitor invited David Landes, professor of history at Harvard, to write the accompanying article, giving a different interpretation.

By David S. Landes  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

An article in the Monitor of Nov. 1 argued correctly that to understand the Palestinians, "we must go back to the beginning." But the writer then offered a mix of fact and myth and called it history.

As he notes, the land that came to be known as Palestine has always been inhabited by a mix of peoples. It was a crossroads, and the Canaanites who were there when the Hebrews and Philistines moved in were already composed, as the Bible relates, of Hittites, Amorites, Hurrians (Horites), Jebusites, Amurites, and others, most of them Semites, some of them Indo-European. They did not come from the Arabian desert, though some modern Arab nationalists might cherish the idea. Almost all of them came from other parts of the Fertile Crescent or from the

semi-arid pasture lands that bordered the crescent.

To this land the Philistines (of pre-Hellenic, not Hellenic stock) came, perhaps as refugees pushed by the southward movement of Hittites. They merged in the long run with the Canaanites (in all their multiplicity). They did not, as the writer of the earlier article tells us, establish between 2000 and 1600 B.C. a Philistine-Canaanite kingdom that "ruled most of the then known world." Rather this area was always the prey of stronger powers: the Egyptians to the south and the great Mesopotamian kingdoms to the east. Only when the accident of history weakened these great powers were the peoples of the crossroads area able to establish short-lived regional hegemonies (thus Israel under David and Solomon). This is still true.

## Cultural characteristics mixed

As for the cultural characteristics of the area, they were as much a mix as the population and the foreign influences. No one knows who invented the alphabet, though it seems to have been done in the so-called North Semitic area. It happens that the earliest surviving example of alphabetic writing is in Phoenician, but that fact may change with the next archaeological dig. Meanwhile, we do know that it was not the Phoenicians who invented the "language in which the Bible was originally written," which was Hebrew. The Hebrews, like most of the Canaanites, were Semites and brought their language with them when they came to the land; they did not have to borrow it from their coastal neighbors. To be sure, they must have learned practical art from the sedentary populations of Canaan; how else could a nomadic pastoral people become sedentary in its turn? But the writer of the earlier article might have mentioned that the Israelites gave their neighbors something in return, a new monotheistic religion, vision and

with it a new morality. The spiritual values of today's Palestinians, Muslim or Christian, go back to that Israelite gift. The Philistines and Canaanites gave them back fertility cults; and the Jewish vision and practice defined itself in part by its opposition to and repugnance for the ways of the other people of the land.

## Recent experiences relevant

The earlier article, however, tells us more about how Palestinians see themselves than about what they are or how they stand vis-à-vis the Israelis. There more recent experiences are most relevant.

I like the Israelis. The Palestinians are a young people. In the middle of the 19th century, a land that had once held, say, 2 million was reduced to one-third of that. Much of the land was desolate, and many of the most fertile areas were abandoned by swamps and mesquites. (Americans should consult Mark Twain's "Innocents Abroad" for the portrait of the land at this low point in its history.)

Population growth over the next century was extremely rapid, directly or indirectly as a result of increasing Jewish immigration. This had two consequences. First, Jewish settlement occurred mostly in those areas that had been avoided by the Arabs. The Jews drained these lands and altered the disease environment. This, along with health measures under the British mandate, made possible the lowest death rates and highest rate of natural increase in the Middle East. Second, the Jews brought with them capital, trade, and urbanization. The sleepy town of Haifa became a bustling port. Old Jaffa became Jaffa-Tel Aviv, a binational conurbation.

## Wages high

Wages in Mandate Palestine were the highest in the Middle East, by a wide margin. Most of the Arabs who lived in these new centers came from the hill country and from

other parts of the Middle East; no one will ever know the extent of illegal immigration to Palestine during the Mandate years. When war came in 1947-48 and some 500,000 or 600,000 Arabs fled the country (not 900,000). It was primarily these newly located Arabs who left, the old agricultural and pastoral communities stayed put.

2. The Palestinian identity is even younger than the people. Just as the Jews helped create the modern Palestinian nation demographically, so, unintentionally, they helped create it politically. Originally the Arabs of Palestine thought of themselves as part of a greater Syrian area, and this corresponded to the realities of movement along the Fertile Crescent. Contact with Zionist aspirations, however, inevitably engendered a counter-development of a specifically Palestinian consciousness. This clashed in principle with rising pan-Arab aspirations, and this has always remained a point of ambiguity in the definition of the Palestinian identity.

## Ambiguities removed

In the long run, though, the conflict with Israel and the special suffering of Palestinian refugees in exile (their Arab hosts kept most of them in camps, refused them equal civil rights and access to jobs, and generally used them as political pawns in the struggle against Israel) removed these ambiguities and reinforced the Palestinian sense of a distinctive experience, identity, and national purpose.

3. In Ottoman Palestine, society was organized along religious lines. As elsewhere in Islamic countries, Christians and Jews had tolerated status, subject to discrimination, exploitation, humiliation, and occasional violence. In the hierarchy of status, the Jews were at the bottom. They were designated victims — segregated by residence, marked off by their dress, pushed aside in the streets, systematically mocked and cursed, and their carriage and behavior reflected their earnest desire to escape attention and vexation. They were the "blacks" of Palestine, and the inability of the Palestine Muslim and Christian populations to come to terms with Zionist aspirations reflected in part their inability to believe and accept a new kind of Jew or to admit the possibility of Jewish self-determination in the House of Islam. Hence the unwillingness to accept partition: it is not only the land that would have to be shared, but sovereignty.

## Why not respond?

The writer of the earlier article deplores the "failure to respond to the plight of the Palestinians." It is a good point, though it would have been better had he gone on to ask why. The answer is that there has never been any way up to now to respond to that plight in a manner that would satisfy the Palestinians without liquidating the state of Israel. Up to 1967 the Palestinians and their Arab neighbors made no bones of their intention to "drive the Jews into the sea." They learned at that time that threats of genocide alienated opinion and went over to such euphemisms as "the inalienable rights of the Palestinians." Indeed, the Palestinian Covenant calls for the elimination of the Israeli state and the removal (by means unspecified) of the large majority (90 to 95 percent) of its present Jewish residents.

It was argued in the earlier article that the time is propitious for a peace settlement. Perhaps, though there are Palestinians who have only been enraged by events in Lebanon and talk once again of getting to Tel Aviv via revolution in Damascus and Kuwait, to say nothing of violence in Jerusalem. Meanwhile, Israel does not seem any better able to initiate peace proposals today than it was a year ago. Many, if not most Arabs still want all or nothing, and many Israelis still cling to the hope that, if they can stall long enough, the Arabs will get used to them.

The whole story is like a Greek tragedy, an inexorable, sometimes mad, course to destruction. The difference, however, and it is a big one, is that this is one tragedy that threatens the chorus as well as the protagonists. We all have a stake in peace in the Middle East.



Palestinians within the old walled city of Jerusalem

By Gordon H. Converse, chief photographer



# Middle East

## PLO may shift some operations to Cyprus

By John K. Cooley  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Athens — The Arab-imposed cease-fire restrictions on Palestinians in Lebanon and their enforcement by the mainly Syrian peace-keeping force there may shift the focus of some Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) operations to southern Cyprus. This is the expectation of informed analysts here.

Vassos Lyssarides, a leftist leader in the Greek Cypriot zone of the island — who heads a small party called EDEK and who has been

a personal physician of President Makarios, reportedly met recently in Beirut with PLO chairman Yasser Arafat, news agencies reported from Nicosia.

Mr. Lyssarides and Andreas Papandreou, former economics professor in Canada and leader of the Greek opposition party, the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Union (PASOK) in Greece, have both cultivated contacts with Palestinian and pro-Palestinian groups throughout Europe and the Mideast for many years. Mr. Papandreou has said he plans to visit Cyprus shortly.

On several occasions before the Turkish landings in Cyprus in 1974, Mr. Lyssarides's

group was reported to be involved with training in Cyprus of Palestinian and Greek guerrilla groups. The latter were said to be Greek Cypriots opposed to the rightist EOKA underground organization which at one time worked for union of Greece and Cyprus and which Arab sources alleged cooperated with the Israeli intelligence services.

The Turkish Cypriot authorities banned travel to or residence in their sectors of the island by Palestinians and most other Arab nationals. Despite official expressions of sympathy by the Turkish Government in Ankara for the PLO at Islamic conferences, this ban was not lifted after Turkish mainland forces occu-

pled 40 percent of Cyprus in the 1974 hostilities. In 1975, with permission from Archbishop Makarios, the PLO set up a regular office in Nicosia (in the Greek sector) with a staff of two people, and has since expanded the staff to about 15.

During the Lebanese civil war, southern Cyprus became an observation post and to some extent a logistical base for both the Palestinian-leftist and rightist-Christian sides.

If the Cyprus authorities permitted, the island could replace Beirut, now under tight censorship and other restrictions, as a base for some fields of Palestinian activity.

The PLO tried to maintain its own research and publishing center in Beirut throughout the Lebanese civil war. In addition, the private Institute for Palestine Studies, financed in part by the Kuwait Education Ministry, published magazines, books, and scholarly bulletins on the Palestine question. Both institutions are now faced with probably un-surmountable censorship problems in Beirut.

Abu Dhabi, and Qatar, feeling its future lay in independence rather than with the states of the lower gulf, withdrew on Sept. 1, 1971.

Sheikh Khalifa turned his attention to the domestic affairs of the emirate, which had slipped into a serious state. Emir Ahmed, described by one close associate as "a dilettante whose main interest appeared to be hunting and who was applying the rule of the four quarters," was channeling most of the oil income into the family's pockets and was arousing the antagonism of many in the ruling group in Doha.

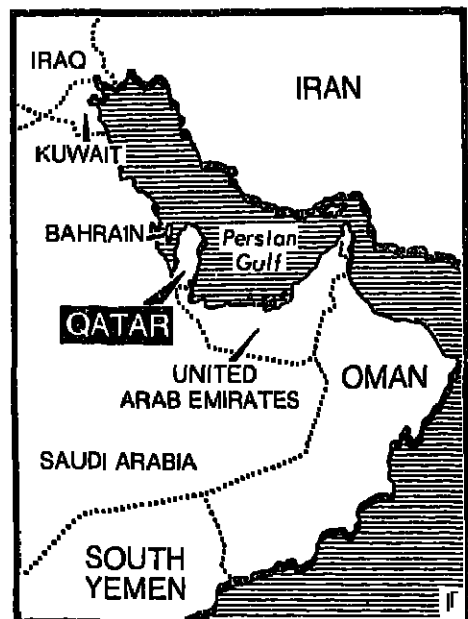
In April, 1970, under combined pressure from some of his close relatives and the emirate's influential British officials, who wanted to leave the affairs of the state in good order when the British withdrew from the gulf, Emir Ahmed declared a provisional constitution and transferred effective authority to Sheikh Khalifa, who became assistant ruler and prime minister.

With the backing of the small, British-organized Army and the technocrats and professional men of Doha, Sheikh Khalifa began the modernization of Qatar. Among first priorities were building a new port for Doha, public housing for people of modest income, and the establishment of a modern educational and social-services system.

But family frictions continued. On Feb. 22, 1972, declaring that the "country has no other way out of its predicament," Sheikh Khalifa deposed his cousin and promised to "correct the errors which have been committed and to remove those who are standing in the way of Qatar's development."

His first moves, along with doing away with the "four quarters," including transfer of the former ruler's income to the state treasury, a 20 percent pay raise for army officers and civil servants, boosts in pensions, and elimination of mortgage commitments for Qataris who had bought state-financed housing on credit.

Probably because he wishes to observe their performance in their jobs first, the Emir has until the present not designated his heir apparent. The two foremost candidates are his eldest son, Maj. Gen. Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, who is commander in chief of the armed forces, and his youngest son, Sheikh Abdel Aziz bin Khalifa al-Thani, the oil and finance minister.



By a staff cartographer

fisheries, under Sheikh Khalifa's management, was marketed successfully in the United States, Europe, and Japan. Since 1968 an experimental farm started by Sheikh Khalifa has been supplying Qatar — unlike all of the other gulf countries — with its own fruits and vegetables.

After becoming foreign minister in 1967, Sheikh Khalifa was one of the gulf's principal advocates of a federation, which would replace the rule of the departing British and comprise the seven emirates of the Trucial Coast, now known as the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

Sheikh Khalifa spent much of the following three years trying to make the federation a going thing. In February, 1968, rulers of the lower gulf emirates, plus Qatar and Bahrain, met in Dubai as a "supreme council" which was convened to prepare the federation.

He was appointed president of a federal council set up as its executive body and later as prime minister of a 13-man federal cabinet.

In this capacity he did his best to resolve squabbles among the federation's prospective members, but without success. The last meeting of the cabinet was held in October, 1969, in

## Paris on Daoud release: 'We had no choice'

By a staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Athens — Arrest and later release in France of Palestinian guerrilla Abu Daoud two weeks ago has led to widespread publicity both for Mr. Daoud himself and for the cause of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In a radio interview from Algiers broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) program "As It Happens" Jan. 15, Mr. Daoud protested his innocence of the Munich 1972 Olympics killings of Israeli athletes, for which both Israel and West Germany said they had unsuccessfully demanded his extradition from France, and voiced his own objection to terrorism.

Mr. Daoud said he would willingly stand trial in West Germany for the Munich affair. His words, as broadcast by CBC, were "If they want me, I'll come, certainly, because I am innocent. I am ready, really, to go before the

court, the German court. Let them ask me officially and I declare I'll take a plane and go to Munich or Bonn to stand before the court there." (Later, the French News Agency reported from Algiers that Mr. Daoud had actually meant that he would go to West Germany if the government in Bonn admitted his innocence. West German spokesmen expressed skepticism.)

Mr. Daoud told the Paris newspaper Le Monde that there appeared to be a basic quarrel between two opposing factions of the French security services who arrested him — one backing the official pro-Arab line of the French Government and another which "gave me the impression at times that I was facing Tel Aviv people rather than French policemen."

On the outcry in the United States over his release, including demands by Jewish groups that France and French products be boycotted

(as the Arab states boycott firms said to contribute to the Israeli economy or defense effort), Mr. Daoud said he found the American attitude "astonishing" as he "had always admired the love of liberty in the United States."

Mr. Daoud said he would "return to the struggle against Israel" after a rest in Algeria. In France, radio reports from Paris quoted a French Government source as saying, "We had to release him. We had no choice. He will probably return to Paris some day as a minister in a Palestinian government."

In Cairo, Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Chatti, announcing an Arab summit conference in March to decide on establishment of a separate Palestinian state, said, "The Palestinians must decide on a definite policy." Observers in Cairo believe Mr. Chatti referred to indecision among Palestinians on whether to attend the proposed resumption of the Mideast peace conference and on forming a Palestinian government-in-exile. Reuters reported from Cairo:

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From page 1

## \*Wanted: meeting ground for South Africans

apartheid (separate development of the races), already is a well-known and respected leader internationally.

Since last year's riots Inkatha has increased its appeal to South African whites. PRP thinks its white members would not be alienated if the PRP formed an alliance with Inkatha because Durban, the city where most Inkatha members work, saw minimal disturbances in its black townships last year, compared to Cape Town and Johannesburg.

Ray Swart, PRP leader in Durban, said, "I would rate the invitation of Chief Buthelezi (to form an alliance with PRP) as the most important thing we have to decide."

(An alliance would be less than a merger. Mrs. Helen Susman, one of the PRP leaders, pointed out in a recent interview with this correspondent that union of the two movements was impossible under the Improper Interference Act, which ruled that political parties could not have members of different races. She said, however, that the PRP could have a loose alliance or association with Inkatha, as Chief Buthelezi has suggested.)

Inkatha is the only black organization in South Africa that has a constituency. There are 70,000 paid-up members, according to Gibson Thula, Inkatha's principal urban representative.

About one-eighth of the members are non-Zulus, mostly Tswanas in the Free State. An

Inkatha membership analysis will be published at the end of January.

Chief Buthelezi's trip to Nigeria in October was paid for by the Nigerian Government. While there, the Chief met with Oliver Tambo, leader-in-exile of the ANC.

"We don't necessarily agree with their [ANC's] strategy," said Mr. Thula.

He insists Inkatha does not operate in secrecy (the government was informed of the meeting with Mr. Tambo) because secrets eventually would come out and Inkatha would lose credibility. "We want to go in the front door," he said.

Still, the government is worried about what Inkatha is doing. Members recently have been interrogated by the security police.

With Nigerian, NNC, and PAC backing, it is conceivable that the fact that its base is in predominantly rural Zululand territory, Inkatha is promoting a Black Unity Front meeting in mid-February, where it would be one of several black interests represented.

Dr. Maturise Nyembazi, who is helping to organize the meeting, says it may be held in the black homeland of Lebowa.

Other sources say this site might be chosen because the Lebowa leader, Dr. Cedric Phah-

From page 1

## \*Hunger: more threatening than bombs

of the underdeveloped countries received little or no attention at the Ford White House. The Treasury under William Simon was overly opposed to doing anything at all. Besides, Mr. McNamara had been a top figure in the administration of Democrats John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

But the Carter administration is stirred with former McNamara associates. Cyrus Vance, the new Secretary of State, was in the Department of Defense under Mr. McNamara during most of the Kennedy-Johnson era. Harold Brown, the new Secretary of Defense, was Secretary of the Air Force under Mr. McNamara. Charles L. Schultz, the new chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, was director of the Bureau of the Budget during the Kennedy-Johnson years and an

associate and friend of Mr. McNamara. Joseph Califano, the new Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, was a special assistant to McNamara and Vance at the Pentagon during the same era.

In other words, Robert McNamara knows people through the whole fabric of the new Carter administration. He can get a hearing for his projects. The main project is to start the leading industrial countries down the path of a supporting and helpful relationship with the poor countries. The long-term purpose would be the economic development of those countries so that they might someday become self-sufficient. The gap between rich and poor countries has been widening over the past decade. Mr. McNamara wants to reverse that trend.

From page 1

## \*Do pomp and 2,553 amendments justify the House of Lords?

If all the peers turned up in their splendid chamber in Westminster, there would be no room for them to sit. Most of the work is done by the life peers and by a small group of hereditary peers interested in politics.

The House of Lords has little power these days, but it can still reject or amend bills passed by the House of Commons which in turn can overturn the Lords' actions by passing the bill once more.

Toward the end of a parliamentary session, the Lords de facto power increases, for they can repeat the amending or rejecting process until the session expires.

The Labour Party has two complaints against the House of Lords: It is entirely non-effective, and it has a built-in Conservative majority. The present movement to abolish it

gained momentum after the Lords rejected in the last parliamentary session key provisions of the government's aircraft and shipbuilding nationalization bill.

After all, the Labour Party had won the general election of 1974 with an election manifesto which clearly pledged to nationalize shipbuilding and aircraft, and Prime Minister James Callaghan, a moderate, expressed considerable indignation over the Lords' action.

But is not a second chamber of some kind needed to curb possible excesses by the first chamber and at least to give that chamber an opportunity to pause for reflection before finalizing controversial legislation?

The report adopted by Labour's home policy committee argues otherwise. It was written mainly by Prof. John Griffith of London University, who exhaustively examined every govern-

"Inkatha" is a Zulu word for the little pad many black women in southern Africa put on their heads to soften the burden.

From this literal meaning, "Inkatha" now has become synonymous among blacks of all political persuasions with what they all call "the struggle." This is the struggle against the burden of apartheid, the South African Government's policy of separation of the races, with separate homelands for each of the country's black linguistic groups.

The Inkatha movement is led by Chief Buthelezi, designated political head of the Zulu people and long thought the likely chief executive in a separate Zulu homeland. But Chief Buthelezi has rejected the homeland idea and argues that all of South Africa belongs to all the people living there.



Government of South Africa  
The pad cushions the burden

United Nations, said he would support a U.S. subsidy for black newspapers opposed to the South African Government.

To counteract the fact that its base is in predominantly rural Zululand territory, Inkatha is promoting a Black Unity Front meeting in mid-February, where it would be one of several black interests represented.

Dr. Maturise Nyembazi, who is helping to organize the meeting, says it may be held in the black homeland of Lebowa.

Other sources say this site might be chosen because the Lebowa leader, Dr. Cedric Phah-

lah, is wavering on the issue of accepting Transkei-style independence. (That former black homeland was granted independence by South Africa last October, but no other country has recognized its independent status.)

Inkatha's great weakness is its lack of ties with urban blacks who have transformed black thinking over the past year. Nevertheless, Inkatha's possibilities should not be overlooked. A "branch" recently was opened in Nairobi, Kenya, and Inkatha is active in Swaziland.

Said Mr. Thula, "The situation is so fluid. It's too late for the movement to die."

Unless the trend is reversed the desperation of the poor could become the cause of the worst problems of the future. Some spokesmen for the underdeveloped countries talk of using nuclear weapons against the rich. That is an extreme threat and not seriously considered by any government today. Yet India already has nuclear weapons. Someday even the poorest might be able to threaten nuclear blackmail.

Mr. McNamara does not base his case on any such danger, but rather on the mere fact that a dog in America today enjoys a better diet than millions of people in the poor countries.

The world around the new President is full of economic problems. In his own country the problem is unemployment vs. inflation. The same problem in more acute form besets most of the friends and allies overseas. Germany

and Japan are in the least bad shape, and also inclined to boost their good fortune, rather than to use some of it to help others.

When President Carter started talking by telephone to the other leaders of the alliance, his first call was to the Prime Minister of Japan. Next he talked to the Chancellor of West Germany. An American-West German-Japanese economic triangle is probably in the making. If there is to be a cooperative approach to the world's economic problems, the lead must be taken by these three, who are the richest and strongest.

The good side of the coin is that there is still a fabric of consultation and some cooperation among the modern industrial countries. They have not yet fallen apart and into autarky, as they did in the '30s.

"In short," says Professor Griffith in an article in the weekly New Statesman, "the case for a second revising chamber has been much overstated and a single chamber could adequately do the necessary legislative job."

Will the full Labour Party national executive accept this recommendation? It may. But with the government preoccupied with Britain's economic crisis and by the question of self-government for Scotland and Wales, it is not likely to give high priority to the abolition of the Lords.

After all, this is the year of the Queen's Silver Jubilee, and for all their socialist consciousness, Labour Party voters seem to be as susceptible to the pomp and pageantry of royal and hereditary circumstance as are any of their more tradition-minded neighbors.

There is no reason the Commons should have to rely on the Lords for this. A three-month delay between committee and report stage in the House of Commons would give time for additional consultations and for improving the drafting of bills.

From page 1

## \*Take heart, Earth may be getting warmer

American experts aren't prepared to go quite that far, although they agree the cooling has ended.

William W. Kellogg of the National Center for Atmospheric Research notes that carbon dioxide buildup should cause warming over a number of decades. But it is hard to find any strong statistical trend.

Dr. Mitchell says, "We just aren't getting the same results as Budyko. The cooling has stopped — but we see no definite warming except in the Antarctic."

However, Drs. Mitchell and Kellogg do emphasize that there is nothing in the weather

patterns to suggest that this cold winter has brought back climatic cooling.

All in all, the weather is giving much of the United States what Donald Gilman, chief of long-range forecasting for the U.S. Weather Service, calls "the kind of old-fashioned winter people had begun to forget about."

That is the key to the perspective in which Drs. Mitchell and Kellogg see this frigid winter — it is unusual, but not unprecedented. There is nothing about it to suggest an unwelcome trend.

"If you go back far enough, we don't seem to be breaking many records," explains Dr.

Kellogg. "By and large these anomalies of seasonal weather are random. You see something anomalous somewhere in the world every year. We're just as likely to be back to normal next year as not."

Dr. Mitchell agrees, calling this season "a beautiful example of the variability of climate." In that connection, he points out that the last two decades have been abnormal in that they did not have such large year-to-year variations. He warns that climate may be returning to "normal" as far as variability goes. That means people must be prepared for all

seasons to run to the extremes of our normal climate more frequently than in recent decades.

As for trends that would shift those extremes themselves, that is where the possible warming trend comes in. Dr. Mitchell says he has seen analyses of data since 1958, both at the surface and at higher levels in the atmosphere. There is no doubt the cooling has ended and there just might be a warming trend which has not shown itself persuasively in the climatological data, except for Antarctica. That most frigid part of the planet definitely has been warming since 1958.

# financial

## High price of coffee a blend of many setbacks

By James Nelson Goodsell  
Latin America correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Why are coffee prices so high?

There is no simple answer. But as consumers struggle to organize boycotts of coffee products in various cities in the United States and other countries, blame for the soaring prices centers on:

- A devastating frost in southern Brazil 18 months ago which destroyed 60 percent of the buds on plants that would have become the 1976-77 coffee bean crop.

- Heavy flooding in Colombia a year ago that destroyed 40 percent of that country's 1976-77 crop.

- An earthquake in Guatemala 11 months

ago that upset the 1976-77 production timetable severely, cutting production estimates by 70 percent.

- The Angolan civil war in 1975 that cut production 80 percent or more and snuffed out that nation's coffee exports through mid-1976.

- Unrest in Ethiopia in 1974 cut production in half — and it has yet to recover.

- Erratic rail service between Uganda and the Kenyan port of Mombasa so limited export shipments in 1975 that as much as one-quarter of Uganda's coffee production was lost in spoilage.

- Increased coffee export taxes in both Brazil and Colombia in the wake of the Brazilian frost and the Colombian flooding, coupled with sharp increases in wages for handpickers in both countries.

With the exception of the frost in Brazil, a nation that produces half the world's coffee crop, none of the other factors by itself would have increased coffee prices significantly. But together, this list of reasons for cutbacks in coffee production has led to the most serious shortage of coffee beans in 50 years.

Producing nations say the price spiral was too low. But they are concerned about the effect of the spiral on their images. To this end, Brazil and Colombia have called jointly for a special session of the International Coffee Council to study ways of stabilizing world prices.

Brazil and Colombia are leaders in the council. Brazil produces the African robusta variety, the more common, less expensive bean used in blends and in instant coffees; Colombia

produces the higher quality arabica variety.

There is evidence of a quicker than expected recovery at Brazilian coffee production from the effects of the 1975 frost. Although it does not figure in estimates of the Brazilian Coffee Institute, this has led to suspicion that Brazil may be withholding coffee from the market to keep prices up.

Camillo Galaziani, the head of the institute, says that unless overseas demand for coffee slows down, the world could face a serious shortage by 1978.

U.S. per capita consumption of coffee is down 11 percent from January, 1975 to 32 percent from 1967. But consumption has increased sharply in Europe and the Soviet Union in the past 15 years, more than compensating for the decline in U.S. consumption.

### Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day inter-bank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (c) = commercial rate.

	U.S. Dollar	British W. German Pound	French Franc	Dutch Guilder	Belgian Franc	Swiss Franc
New York	100	171.57	4165	2007	3975	827.090
London	5829	100	2428	1170	2317	315.789
Frankfurt	24010	41193	100	9544	355042	9585
Paris	49825	85485	20752	100	134976	13900
Amsterdam	25157	43162	10478	5049	108151	10048
Brussels	369140	633333	153747	74086	145733	147434
Zurich	25038	42957	10428	5025	9952	107827

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso: .00354; Australian dollar: 1.0890; Danish krone: .1693; Italian lira: .001134; Japanese yen: .003435; New Zealand dollar: .9495; South African rand: 1.1500.

Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston

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"The course has helped me to go up higher in the understanding of Christian Science—to hold more closely to the thought of perfect God and perfect man, and to insist on this in each experience I have on the floor."

"...the course has been a true education. It has taught me more of my genuine selfhood and that of all men; that substance is Mind, not matter—and how to help others see this great truth; that through unselfed love—that is, reflected love—we can bring the healing power of God to human experience."

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Those who have been helped by Christian Science nursing write letters overflowing with gratitude:

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There are training schools for Christian Science nurses in the United States and in the British Isles. And both on-the-job and nurses' aide training are available at care facilities for Christian Scientists. See the list below of schools and care facilities.

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# The rich and hungry world

By Takashi Oka

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Rome

## Remember Bangladesh?

How long is it since all those pictures of starving infants, stared out accusingly from television screens and newspaper front pages? How long since those equally accusatory reminders that while people in the rich nations were gobbling up more and more meat, many citizens of poor countries were fortunate if they got two meals a day?

The nasty shock of 1972-74 — when world grain production fell by 33 million tons, the Soviet Union cornered U.S. grain exports, and wheat prices quadrupled — is fading from memory. The United States, the Soviet Union, even the Indian subcontinent, have had bumper harvests. World food stocks are beginning to build up again. The anchorages have returned to the coasts of Peru, increasing supplies of fertilizer and feed.

And yet the fundamental problem of too many mouths chasing after too little food remains. Half a billion of the world's 4 billion inhabitants suffer from malnutrition, estimates Jean Mayer, former Harvard professor and now president of Tufts University. Another billion could do with a more varied diet. Population growth has slowed, but the developing nations are going to have to increase food production at least 4 percent a year if their food import bills are not to reach prohibitive levels by 1985.

Two years ago, here in Rome, the nations of the world assembled in the World Food Conference solemnly pledged to abolish hunger and malnutrition in a decade.

It was a noble promise, but implementation has lagged sadly behind. The United States, the world's largest exporter of grain, has been entangled in sterile argument over how much control should be exercised in the international grain market.

Other nations have dragged their feet also, for the promise, to be realized, requires a large allocation of resources and a restructuring of the world grain market.

The fundamental problem is that the developing nations of the world — in Africa, Latin America, and Asia — have not managed to increase food production to a point where it can keep up with the growth in their populations and with the increase in their demand for food.

## Twofold mission outlined

From this failure arises the need:

1. For capital investment by the developing nations themselves to increase food production at least 4 percent a year (4.3 percent, says the World Food Council established by the 1974 Rome conference).

2. For the world grain trade to be structured in such a way that poor countries will not be victimized by sudden rises in grain prices, as occurred in 1974 when both oil and wheat prices quadrupled. This means setting up an international grain reserve that would keep price fluctuations within tolerable limits, say between \$2 and \$3 per bushel of wheat.

The first point, which holds out the only practical possibility that the world will overcome its food crisis, has become the focus of much controversy.

Many experts believe it is simply unattainable. The developing countries are not serious about population control. They are not interested in improving agriculture, but waste their money on prestige industrial projects. Their use of foreign aid is wasteful and corrupt, these experts say.

## Lifeboat logistics suggested

Therefore, the argument goes, it would be better to separate developing countries into those that are capable of helping themselves and those that are not. The first category will be helped. The others will be abandoned, just as those inside a lifeboat would try to keep too many others from clambering aboard lest the boat be swamped.

There are others who maintain that the present gap between the food needs of the developing nations and the enormous amounts consumed as livestock feed in the developed nations (400 million tons a year, more than human beings in China and India together consume) is the result of centuries of exploitation by the rich nations and that food, along with wealth, must be redistributed from the rich nations to the poor.

Finally, there is a third school — of natural scientists, aid administrators, and development experts — who point out that technically, there is no reason mankind, including the developing nations, should not be able to feed itself. Population

In all-embracing global terms, food is the most immediate challenge to kind. People without it can't to desperate means to get by with it in abundance to decide whether to sit, with whom and on what. Few issues challenge the world today so pressing as a genuine community, how and where shall an effort be made? The United States is the world's biggest supermarket — and that poses a special question for President.



growth is restrainable. Even progress has already been made.

In a recent issue of Science, Hopper estimates that the southern Sudan alone, if its swamps, could produce as much food as the entire United States today.

Similarly, the northern part of the Indian subcontinent, drained by three mighty rivers, the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra, could be made more productive than it is now — perhaps yielding 10 metric tons of grain per hectare (2.47 acres), or about 10 percent of the world's present grain output.

These are spectacular possibilities. But make hunger a thing of the past. As hunger is wiped out, population also can decline, even if living standards remain high, as the experience of China has shown.

Effort on the part of the United States to give agriculture the quired. So is a redistribution of wealth. Equally required is capital. The first call on national resources is small. In nearly 80 million.

## Fund set up for capital

They may have the will to make hunger a thing of the past. But the rich countries are vital. For them, capital is essential. This is the purpose of the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) — a fund which is only coming into

being this year because of the time required to obtain the needed money.

The development fund is unique because it will be controlled, in equal proportions, by the rich industrialized nations, by the newly rich oil-producing nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), and by the non-oil-producing developing nations. Voting strength, in other words, will not be in proportion to the amount of money put into the kitty.

But the fund alone is only a drop in the bucket. At least \$5 billion a year would need to be transferred every year from the rich countries to the poor if the goal of an annual 4 percent increase in food production were to be realized, according to officials of the World Food Council.

## Market revision proves sticky

The second major task the world community faces to wipe out hunger in the next decade is to restructure the international grain market. This is not as formidable a task as the first one, but it has run into a great deal of controversy between American officials, who wish to keep the grain trade essentially uncontrolled, and third-world advocates, who see the need for at least some limits of price to be observed in the international marketplace.

The American argument, essentially, is that for 20 years after World War II, the United States and Canada held the world's only sizable reserve grain stock. Emergencies such as the periodic failures of the monsoon in India or of harvests in the Soviet steppes were met by drawing on this reserve stock.

But the storage was costly. The existence of the reserve acted to depress grain prices and thus kept farmers' incomes low. Periodic efforts were made to clear the stock by sales of grain at concessional prices to developing nations. Now that world grain prices finally are higher, so the argument goes, why should the United States bear the exclusive burden of keeping a grain reserve? Why should not other countries share the cost, if that is what they want to do?

## Full freedom never prevails

The counterargument put forward by international development officials is that there never has been such a thing as a completely free market in grain. Domestically, food is too important a commodity to be left exclusively to the vagaries of the market, and many governments take measures from time to time to subsidize grain production when prices are unreasonably low, even if from the viewpoint of the market it would be cheaper to buy grain from abroad. Conversely, governments take action to protect consumers, or groups of consumers, when price rises impose too heavy a burden on them.

Should not these principles be applied internationally? By all means, protect farmers from grain prices that are too low to provide a reasonable margin of profit. At the same time, if the world is to become a genuine community, and not just to remain a market, should not the poorer nations of the world be protected in some way from exorbitant upward swings of the international market?

## American role still essential

In the final analysis, both on agricultural aid to developing countries and on managing the international grain trade, the United States plays a pivotal role. The American role is no longer dominant, as it was during the 1950s and 1960s. But it remains essential, and it has to be played with increasing subtlety and sophistication.

Rich nations, poor nations, nations with oil and nations without, nations with food to spare and nations where hunger is endemic, all share responsibility for a world community in which the disruptive actions of a determined few could lead to the collapse of the entire edifice. No issue is more emotion-rousing than food, because no issue is as basic to individual and national survival. By the same token, no issue challenges the world community to act as a genuine community as does this one.

"If the human race cannot agree on food, on what can they agree?" asks a British economist, Dame Barbara Ward, in a recent book (foreword to "Hunger, Politics, and Markets"). "If those self-proclaimed Christian countries of the West who pray 'Give us this day our daily bread' are not prepared to give it to anyone else, they deserve the mockery and collapse that follow upon too wide a breach between principle and practice."

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By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer  
Wheat into the American granary ...



# JAPAN: economic powerhouse

Japan is no longer so inscrutable a nation to Westerners — it has become too important economically and politically. As Japanese products have become common in the United States and Western Europe, some of the mystery has gone from the island nation. The press has printed reams of material about the Japanese, their energy, their culture, their different ways. The Japanese have become more understandable to us.

But the wonder of the nation remains. Here are 143 million people living on islands with a land area about that of Montana. Here is a people so efficient and devoted to what Americans call the "work ethic" that their exports of such items as automobiles, steel, and color television sets juggle the brows of industrial counterparts in other major nations, who cry to their governments for tariff or quota protection. In a short span of years, Japan has become the third largest industrial power, behind only the United States and the Soviet Union.

On the basis of total output of goods and services per person, Japan has raced up the ladder until now it is the 16th most prosperous nation, according to the latest World Bank statistics. In 1974 it had a

gross national product (GNP) of \$4,070 per capita well above the \$2,590 of the United Kingdom, another island nation.

That affluence was achieved with a growth rate of 8.8 percent per annum from 1970 to 1974, a period when Britain's GNP increased only 2.3 percent per year. By now, Japan's industrial might is so great that it is sometimes described as a "locomotive economy" — a nation like the U.S. or West Germany which is expected to pull other smaller countries out of the worldwide recession, or slow-growth pattern. Western economists tend to grumble if Japan grows at "only" 6 percent — a handsome rate that would truly delight Jimmy Carter if it unexpectedly should occur this year in the U.S.

Japan is also the major industrial nation with, relatively, the fewest policemen, fewest persons in prison, fewest divorces, fewest admissions to mental-health clinics, and lowest infant mortality rate. And with new prosperity, it is a country where national attention has turned to the "quality of life" — to measures to improve housing, reduce pollution, and increase recreation facilities. This section tells a portion of the Japanese story.

## Surging exports overcome recession

By Ian Gorman  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Japan once again is beginning to flex its economic muscle, stiffened temporarily by the recent world recession.

The improvement is due largely to strong gains in exports to the U.S. and Western Europe. Japan's former finance minister and now Prime Minister, Takeo Fukuda, can also take some credit.

Mr. Fukuda became finance minister under former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka in late 1973, shortly before the oil crisis broke out.

With unknowing prescience, he forecast a reduction in the growth rate of the Japanese economy, from an annual rate of 10 percent or more to a modest growth rate of 6 to 7 percent.

Little did he realize that within a few months he would be wondering how to boost the Japanese economy up to the desired modest growth rate rather than on how to slow the economy down.

His first priority after the October, 1973, oil crisis, however, was to check the wild price rises that followed the crisis. He applied tough demand-management measures, acquiring the nickname "Mr. Austerity" in the process.

### Caution his style

In getting out of the recession that followed those measures, he has consistently pursued a cautious line. Mr. Fukuda is concerned more with restraining inflation

and putting the economy into sound shape than in pushing rapidly toward recovery.

Mr. Fukuda's cautious policies for dealing with stagflation remained in force throughout 1976 and are likely to be only slightly modified in 1977, even though events have not completely conformed with policy.

The aim for 1976 was a gradual economic rise throughout the year with a moderate increase in fiscal outlays. The policies also sought the revival of natural or cyclical forces to slowly push up the economy without provoking severe inflation. The target was an annual growth figure for fiscal 1976 of 5.6 percent.

This figure is still likely to be achieved, but not in the way expected. In the first quarter of 1976 the economy boomed, largely thanks to the sharp increases in exports to the U.S. and Eastern Europe. But since then, the rate of growth has dropped quarter by quarter. The last three months of 1976 may show no growth at all.

### Export surge unexpected

The surge in exports was a surprise, regarded as a lucky break by Japanese officials. But the belief grew both at home and abroad that Japan was getting a free ride toward recovery at the expense of its trading partners. Also, the U.S. charged that Japan was deliberately keeping the yen undervalued. The European Economic Community voiced threats of import restrictions.

Although the rise in exports began to slow down after spring, exports continued to be a powerful factor in sustaining the economy.

Businessmen and government officials held to the hope that domestic demand factors, such as consumer

spending, capital outlays, and fiscal expenditures, would succeed exports as the driving force of the economy. But the Lockheed scandal delayed Diet passage of the budget bill and other key fiscal legislation. The delay forced reductions and postponement of numerous construction programs at a time when these were most needed.

The Lockheed scandal also damaged business confidence. Businessmen worried about the prospects of a coalition government that would be sure to be less business than the Liberal-Democratic Party.

### Not a bad performance

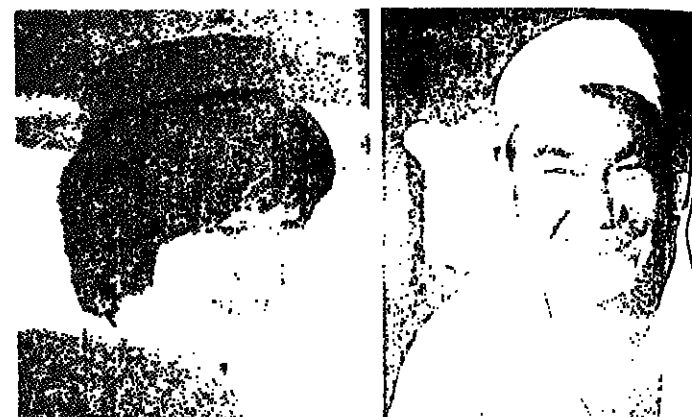
Despite the mini-recession, however, the economy did not perform too badly in 1976. Industrial production in November was 16.5 percent higher than in the same month last year. Unemployment dropped to about 1,000,000 as compared with 1,250,000 at the beginning of the year. The trade and overall payments balances are in surplus and business profits are continuing to improve.

Prices are still a problem, however. The Tokyo consumer price index in December increased 10.5 percent over the year before. Business bankruptcies soared in November to a new high of 1,588.

Despite these and other problems, the Japanese economy is still proving itself a viable entity. Although some Western observers have described Japan as a "fragile economic superpower," Japan has demonstrated toughness, adaptability, and cohesiveness, and has performed notably better than such countries as France, Britain, or Italy.



Workmen assemble motorcycles on Kawasaki assembly line



Two faces of Tokyo: children's guide and laborer



Construction worker helps raise another tower in Tokyo

Photos by Gordon H. Converse and R. Norman Skerwitz

## Japan Incorporated — how true is the image today?

Business, government not hand-in-hand, say officials

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo  
"What you call Japan Incorporated is really a kind of human chain — a person-to-person linkage," said an official of Keidanren (Federation of Economic Organizations), Japan's major business association.

"In fact, in bidding for international projects these days, the Japanese are the least 'Inc.' (i.e., incorporated) of any of the major industrial nations."

The last statement could be a bit of an exaggeration. From the viewpoint of European shipbuilders, or of American appliance manufacturers, Japan still may be a country where businessmen and government officials are inextricably linked in a joint endeavor for the greater glory of the land of the rising sun.

Foreign goods are mysteriously excluded from Japanese markets, not so much by visible tariff barriers as by layer upon layer of obscure rules, regulations, and what is euphemistically known as "administrative guidance." Japanese goods are helped out into the world market, again not through visible government subsidies but by the same impenetrable process working in reverse.

### The conventional view

Such, at least, is the conventional view of those seeking to do business in or with Japan.

The Japanese themselves strenuously maintain that this view is outdated.

"There is no actual substance to Japan Inc. anymore," said Toshio Doko, president of Keidanren and one of Japan's most influential businessmen.

"Of course, in the 1950s the government did have to play a major role in the reconstruction of the Japanese economy. Don't forget we lost everything in the war. In those early postwar years, every single one of us was frantically trying to build ourselves up again. If we didn't have money, we borrowed it. We borrowed to the hilt, and in the final analysis it was the government, it was Japan itself, that was supporting us."

Today, business has become so big, and so diversified, that, according to Mr. Doko, it would be impossible for the government to control it all.

The more one digs into Japan Incorporated, the more elusive an entity it seems. It is in no sense a formally defined partnership. In the sense in which Mr. Doko used the term, the evolution he described is a matter of record.

Japan's industry was rebuilt behind the high

### JAPAN FACTS

Area: 143,574 square miles (about the size of Montana)

Population: 111,934,000

Capital: Tokyo (Pop. 11,454,000)

Other major cities: Osaka, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto, Kobe, Kitakyushu, Sapporo

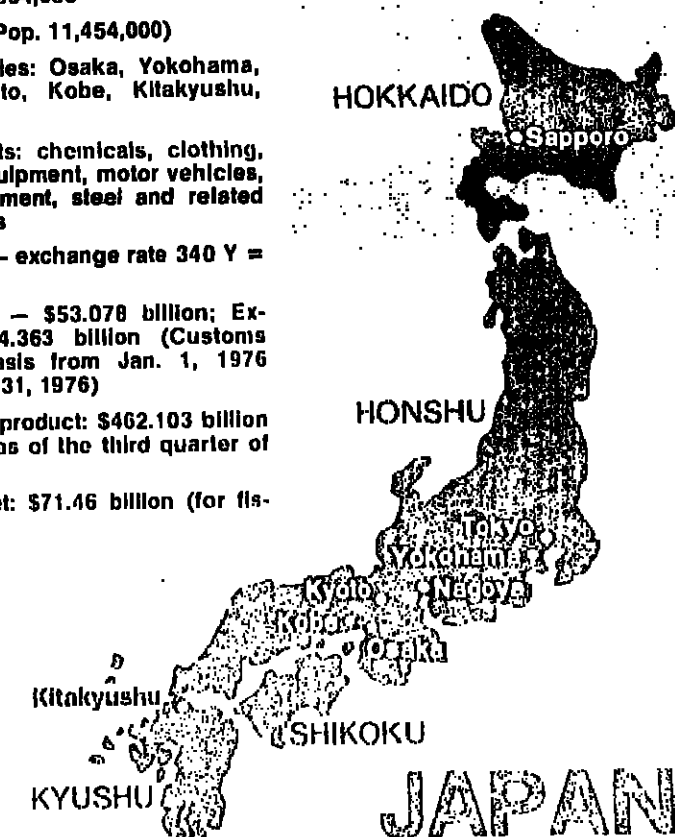
Principal exports: chemicals, clothing, electronic equipment, motor vehicles, optical equipment, steel and related products, toys

Currency: Yen — exchange rate 340 Y = \$1

Trade: Imports — \$53.078 billion; Exports — \$54.363 billion (Customs clearance basis from Jan. 1, 1976 through Oct. 31, 1976)

Gross national product: \$462.103 billion (annualized as of the third quarter of 1976)

National budget: \$71.46 billion (for fiscal 1976)



JF

walls of protective tariffs. Powerful MITI, the Ministry of International Trade and Industry, made sure that promising new industries like petrochemicals were not ruined by "excessive competition," whether from within or without.

### Government controls outgrown

But as industries reached a level of international competitiveness, they became increasingly restive under government controls.

The less dependent a Japanese company or industry is on external financing, the more it is able to rely on its own accumulated reserves to meet its investment needs. It is less likely to be responsive to governmental or other outside pressures.

But the kind of personal links cited by the Keidanren official quoted at the outset of this article remain.

In Japanese businesses, there are two routes

division of MITI, say those dealing with cars or chemicals or energy.

He tends to disdain businessmen as motivated by profit. He thinks of himself as working for the good of the country.

Sometimes politicians, working through the minister (who is a politician), can thwart this young bureaucratic recommendations. But generally his word is law. Even silver-haired company presidents will have to follow his rulings if they are operating within his official sphere of influence.

By his mid-to-late 40s, this promising bureaucrat will have reached the upper rungs of the civil-service ladder. He may be director-general of a MITI bureau, or even vice-minister, the top civil-service post.

Tradition demands that when an official becomes vice-minister, all his colleagues who entered the ministry during the same year as he did must retire. It is at this point that they begin to look for jobs in industry.

The silver-haired company president who might be having difficulty with a ruling made by some young bureaucrat will be delighted to have a senior official from the same ministry join his staff.

### Use of personal links

The senior official would never be so crude as to go directly to his erstwhile subordinate and demand to have the ruling changed. But, using personal links within the ministry, he would find ways of achieving his objective.

Face would be preserved all around, and the quality so prized in Japanese, "wa" or harmony, would have prevailed.

One of the old names for Japan, Yamato, is composed of two Chinese characters, signifying great harmony.

This is the way in which Japanese society works.

In this deeper, more psychological sense Japan Incorporated probably is as much of a reality as it ever has been.

Does competition play any role in such a society? Indeed it does.

The large Japanese trading firms, like Mitsubishi, Sumitomo, Marubeni, and C. Itoh are energetic rivals. They may at times reach informal agreements that, for instance, Mitsui should concentrate on Iran while Mitsubishi cultivates Saudi Arabia. But such agreements are ad hoc and not entirely stable.

Competition and cooperation, rivalry and harmony, a united front against outsiders that is not always as solid as it seems — this is the elusive reality of Japanese business behavior.

It is by no means an impenetrable society. But success in the Japanese market requires far more careful preparation than in other markets and a delicate sensitivity to the nuances of human relationships.



Tokyo commuters

By R. Norman Skerwitz, staff photographer

"What you call Japan Incorporated is really a kind of human chain . . ."



Welder in Japanese motorcycle plant

By Norman Skerwitz

"... the Japanese are the least 'Inc.' of any of the major industrial nations"



## Carmakers faced with new market realities

By Charles E. Dole  
Automotive editor of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Japanese carmakers face a dilemma: Japanese domestic car demand is slowing to a walk compared to the dramatic rise in Japanese car ownership over the past 10 or 12 years — a fourfold increase between 1965 and the Arab oil embargo in 1973.

At the same time, the search for a bigger export market has triggered a thumping demand for import controls, especially in those countries whose auto industries are feeling the pressure of Japanese competition.

Japan's auto export growth rate is expected to slow to about 5 percent annually for the next 10 years. It has enjoyed a 20 to 30 percent growth rate during the past 10 years.

Even so, Japan may export up to 3.36 million cars by 1980, with knock-down units — assembled in the countries to which they are shipped — accounting for 1.64 million units.

As a result, Japanese carmakers are mixing an even-tinge, based on a long succession of ever-rising sales years, with an equal measure of caution as they adapt to the realities of today's world auto market.

### Major transition period

Besides the rising tide of protectionist sentiment, the Japanese also see the worldwide auto industry as moving through a major period of transition. They see two reasons for this:

- The high price of petroleum and the likelihood of a shortage in a time of global crisis.
- The relationship of the automobile to society, affected by what Nissan chairman, Kaifu Katsuhiko, calls its "demerits" — pollution, accidents, and noise.

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By Peter Main, staff photographer

Japan may export up to 3.4 million autos by 1980

"All of these demerits will have to be eliminated to a certain extent," he asserts. "For this reason, we feel we have to keep improving our products so they do not damage the environment. This must be done without too much interference from the government."

In reaction to the mounting resistance to its cars in some markets, the Japanese auto industry sent a group of high-level officials, including several company presidents and the head of the Japan Automobile Manufacturers Association, to the U.S. last summer and to Europe in the fall.

### Allying tears

The purpose of the trips was to solve any fears which foreign carmakers might have because of Japan's far-reaching success in penetrating the overseas auto markets.

U.S. manufacturers have repeatedly assailed the one-way street that prevails in the automobile trade between Japan and the rest of the world.

Now the Japanese Ministry of Transport is expediting the certification of U.S. cars so that they can be shipped to Japan without further delay.

Significantly, the Japanese carmakers were absolved of any guilt in the U.S. Treasury Department's dumping probe last year. Nearly two dozen foreign car companies were put on notice that they either increase the price of their cars in the U.S., so that it more nearly

reflects the home-market price, or face action by the government against them.

In Japan, governmental bodies are tightening the screws on emissions, setting some of the most stringent standards in the world. They also are curbing the use of automobiles because of the mounting congestion in city centers.

### Better mass transit than U.S.

Japan, unlike much of the U.S., has a workable mass-transit system already in operation, lessening the demand on the automobile for large-scale movement of people. Further, Japan is planning major expansion of its subway systems in several of its larger cities. It plans to extend its high-speed rail lines as well. Within a few years the 130-mile-an-hour bullet trains will go by tunnel from the main island of Honshu to Hokkaido far to the north of Tokyo.

The Japanese auto industry now accounts for about 9 percent of the country's total manufacturing output; it also accounts for about 13 percent of total exports. Some 600,000 workers are employed by the industry, and millions more are indirectly dependent on it for their livelihoods.

Japan's automobile industry is very highly organized and is making use of new and promising technologies.

Touring the widespread facilities of Nissan, the country's second-ranking vehicle-maker af-

ter Toyota, it is easy to see why the Japanese have had so much success in the U.S. and Europe.

### Every detail in its place

They leave nothing to chance. Everything is laid out in minute detail, even the regimen exercise periods during each work shift. Each piece of the auto is carefully slipped into its proper place.

Further, they're willing to take their time. Nissan, for example, required many years to develop a solid dealership network in the U.S. It has preferred a low profile ever since, despite its sale of some quarter-million cars in 1976.

Japanese carmakers are debating whether or not to build a car assembly plant in the U.S., either as a joint effort by two or more companies, or as a single-company venture by Toyota, Nissan, or Honda.

A U.S. plant is desirable, they say, because of the problems involved in shipping huge numbers of vehicles across the sea. For example, a strike of Japanese stevedores 21 months ago tied up the car-carrying ships for more than a week.

Carmakers have highly automated carrying facilities at a number of ports along Japan's coast. Nissan is able to load two carrying vessels simultaneously at its huge Imo-ku Wharf on Tokyo Bay, the largest seaport in the country.

### Inland transport problems

Yet "inland transport facilities are neglected at the wharf," protests T. Arakawa, charge of Nissan's export division. The company has high-rise facilities in which to store about 20,000 cars on the wharf.

Despite its large capacity, if the cars don't roll onto a ship within a few days the wharf comes jammed, and there is no place to put more autos. A strike by stevedores can turn into a nightmare.

I watched the Hough Traveler being loaded with hundreds of cars destined for ports in Europe. Like clockwork, the cars are driven onto the ship in a steady stream.

Some of the larger ships can carry up to 3,000 cars; smaller ones have a capacity of about 1,800.

Toyota executives already have said that the carmaker would have to sell a half million units in the U.S. before it would begin American assembly.

## Europe wringing its hands over deficit in Tokyo trade

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo

"Which of our industries should we Europeans allow to die?" a West European journalist asked a high Japanese Foreign Ministry official at a recent press briefing on European-Japanese economic relations.

The answer, though diplomatically couched, was to the effect that if the Europeans met Japanese competition squarely by modernizing their own industries and making them more efficient, instead of resorting to import curbs, they could survive.

This exchange shows the emotional atmosphere in which Japanese and Europeans tend to discuss trade — and, more specifically, the \$4.2 billion surplus which the Europeans say Japan is going to pack up in its trade with the nine European Community (EC) countries during the current year. (The Japanese say the surplus will be closer to \$3.5 billion, but admit that in any case it will be substantial.)

### Questions of survival

Shipbuilding, steel, automobiles, electronics, and ball bearings are the most sensitive points of the trade confrontation between the Europeans and the Japanese.

In all five fields, there has been an expansion of Japanese exports to the EC. As a result, the survival of some European manufacturers is threatened, the Europeans say.

Japan has grabbed close to 10 percent of the British car market. Shipment of steel bars and shapes to the EC was 3.8 times greater from January to August, 1976, than during the same months of 1975.

The Japanese have agreed to hold steel exports to the EC down to 1.1 million tons. Japanese television and car manufacturers are expected to observe "voluntary restraints" on exports during the current year.

Even West Germany, the most stalwart European advocate of free trade, has asked for limits on Japanese ship exports after Japanese shipyards snapped up about 90 percent of the small ship orders placed by West German ship-owners last summer.

### Reluctance over sharing

Shipbuilders, facing hard times throughout the world, are having more difficulty getting Japan to reduce production to a level the EC would consider satisfactory.

The Japanese have dominated the market for years, and are reluctant to accept EC proposals for a 50-50 sharing of new orders. But one senior Japanese diplomat here says that some kind of market-sharing agreement is not improbable.

At the same time, the Europeans want the Japanese to increase their own imports of Eu-

ropean goods. They say that a host of nontariff barriers makes it difficult for European-manufactured goods to find markets in Japan.

The Japanese have promised an immediate increase in imports of dairy products from the EC.

They are permitting European cars destined for Japan to be inspected in Europe rather than tediously after arrival in Japan. They have promised simplification of test regulations for pharmaceuticals.

### Limiting vs. increasing

Masaya Miyoshi is an official of Kaidoren, the Federation of Economic Organizations, who visited Europe in October as part of a high-powered delegation led by chairman Toshio Doko.

"Limiting Japanese exports to Europe is only half of what needs to be done," he said in a recent conversation in Kaidoren's headquarters in Tokyo's business center. "The more important part is increasing European exports to Japan."

He recognized the existence of nontariff barriers, which he said were not as onerous as some Europeans charge, and which Kaidoren was urging various government ministries to mitigate if not entirely remove.

In Mr. Doko's view, the main problem is that the European and Japanese economies are competitive rather than complementary. In essence, both import raw materials, process them, and export the value-added product.

What both sides need to do, in Mr. Miyoshi's opinion, is to promote those areas in which one industrialized economy could help the other.

### Auto marketing rival

The prominent example is a tie-up between British Leyland and Mitsubishi. Leyland's trading company, to market its high-quality Leyland cars in Japan, Yoshio Ikeda, president of Mitsubishi — who signed the joint venture agreement with David Andrews, managing director of Leyland International — was a member of the Kaidoren mission. He heard firsthand the complaints of British and other industrialists that they were being denied fair access to the Japanese market.

Leyland and Mitsubishi will set up a new company to import and distribute Leyland cars in Japan.

Japan is a tough market. But there is an insufficiently tapped market for expensive prestige cars the Japanese do not make. Leyland decided to go after this market more aggressively with cars like the Jaguar, the Rover 3500, the Triumph TR-7 sports car.

It is hoped that by 1981, Leyland will be selling 125 million (\$42.5 million) worth of cars in Japan, compared with only 12 million (\$3.4 million) worth of all British cars sold in Japan in 1976.

## Can Fukuda revitalize Japanese economy?

By David Tharp  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo

Japan enters 1977, the year of the serpent, with a newly appointed prime minister at the helm. Japanese business leaders are relying heavily on the new Premier, Takeo Fukuda, to steer Japan through the coming year's economic reefs and stormy financial seas.

It won't be easy. Mr. Fukuda has promised his industrialist backers that he will do his best to revitalize the stagnated economy, and he has dubbed 1977 as the "year of economics."

While the economic picture at home may look good compared to that of any country in Europe, Mr. Fukuda will be hard-pressed to deliver on his promises to inject some life into the economy.

With the European Common Market talking about restricting Japanese imports, the United States complaining about the huge deficit in trade with Japan, and raw material producers

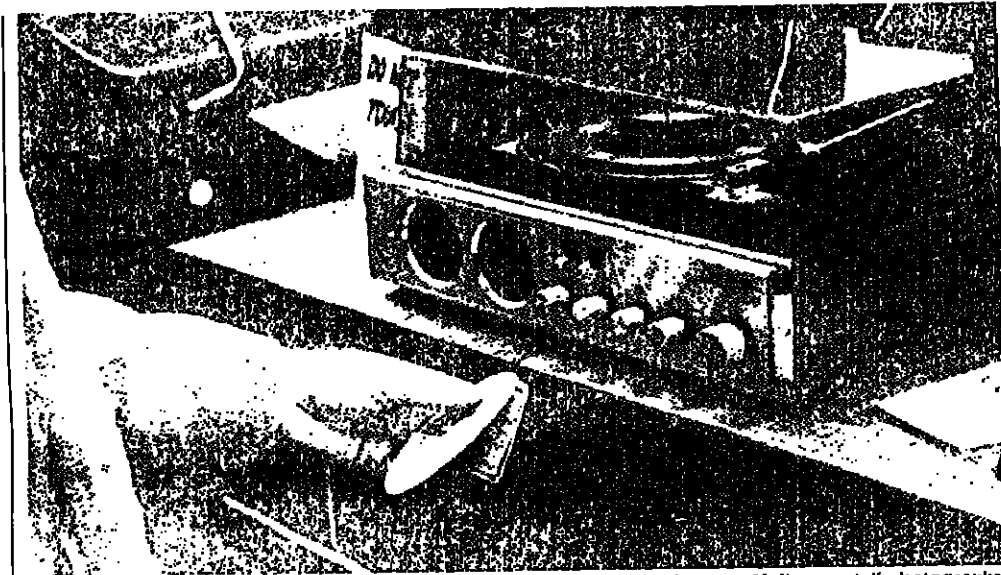
clamoring for increased prices — the days of Japan's high economic growth are just a distant, pleasant memory.

Cheap, abundant energy and raw materials — the basic elements of Japan's fast-paced economic growth in the past — are gone forever, and Japanese economic planners are struggling to keep abreast of the new world order to maintain some semblance of stabilized growth.

Business circles are convinced the present "pause" in economic recovery is bound to persist despite the appointment of their champion, Mr. Fukuda, as Prime Minister. Domestic demand remains sluggish, and exports are threatened with retaliatory actions from Europe and the United States.

The government has abandoned its original target of 7-percent-plus growth for this year as more down-to-earth assessments have projected a go-slow figure of about 6 percent.

Although the economy continues to idle, corporation sales and profits have been steadily rising since hitting bottom during the worst



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

The sound of U.S.-Japanese trade is sometimes dissonant

## U.S.-Japanese trade expected to hold steady

By Guy Halverson  
Business and financial correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

U.S.-Japan economic trade, which hit an estimated \$25 billion last year, is expected to "hold steady" though perhaps at slightly reduced levels during 1977, according to top government analysts here.

Most important for these two industrial giants — separated by thousands of miles of ocean and diverse cultures, but linked by equally based feeling of goodwill — the two-way trade is considered absolutely vital to each nation.

Although Canada remains the main overall trading partner with the U.S., Japan is far and away the largest overseas economic partner. Moreover, as State Department analysts here note, the large-scale web of economic links continues to underpin the crucial political ties between the two nations.

Still, policymakers here and in Japan will be grappling with a number of major problems during the next several months. Among them:

• The U.S. television industry remains locked in an acerbic marketing war with rival Japanese companies. U.S. color set manufacturers argue that Japanese firms are unfairly slashing prices while receiving government subsidies.

One U.S. firm, Zenith, is currently seeking court action that would impose countervailing U.S. duties (up to 15 percent) on Japanese electronic equipment. The proposed duties would cost the Japanese \$225 million annually.

• U.S. steel firms angrily charge that Japanese steel manufacturers have entered into agreements with European nations to dump cheaper Japanese steel on the U.S. market, thus undercutting U.S. firms.

A White House intergovernmental panel held public hearings on the allegations late last year. A report is expected to be released during the next several months.

• In civil aviation, both governments have been bickering over questions of air rights with Japan seeking access to additional U.S. and Asian American cities. Currently the competition pits two U.S. companies, Northwest and Pan American, against one major Japanese carrier, Japan Air Lines.

• Finally, according to a State Department official both nations are "close" to hammering together final touches on a new fishing agreement now that the U.S. has adopted a 200-mile limit.

West Coast fishermen, however, continue to mount pressure to restrict Japanese catches in U.S. waters.

Whatever the case, the vital two-way trade between the two superpowers is expected to stay firm throughout 1977, although perhaps not at the high levels of 1976. The balance, moreover, is expected to remain firmly in Japan's favor — hitting an estimated \$15 billion in imports from Japan last year, compared to around \$10 billion in U.S. exports.

While final year-end figures are not available as of this writing, some analysts expect that the trade figures for last year will be around \$25 billion. Through October, 1976, the U.S. exported \$8.5 billion worth of goods and services, compared to Japanese imports of \$12.7 billion.

### Questions at both ends

The main reasons for the feeling that 1977 trade will not hit such a high is two-fold: the still uncertain trade and economic policies of the new Carter administration, and the new Liberal-Democratic government of Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda. There also is questioning about how well both nations will continue to pull out of the recent worldwide recession.

"The U.S. economy looks as if it's gathering momentum," argues an official of the Washington-based United States-Japan Trade Council. "But the Japanese economy," the official notes, "looks as if it may be in a rut."

Further, a significant part of Japanese imports into the U.S. during 1976, according to trade analysts, represent a rebuilding of inventories that were allowed to sag during 1975.

Still, if the world economy were to show a sudden rebound, and "anything is possible in today's international selling," laughs one U.S. trade official, then the two-way trade could jump to even higher levels.

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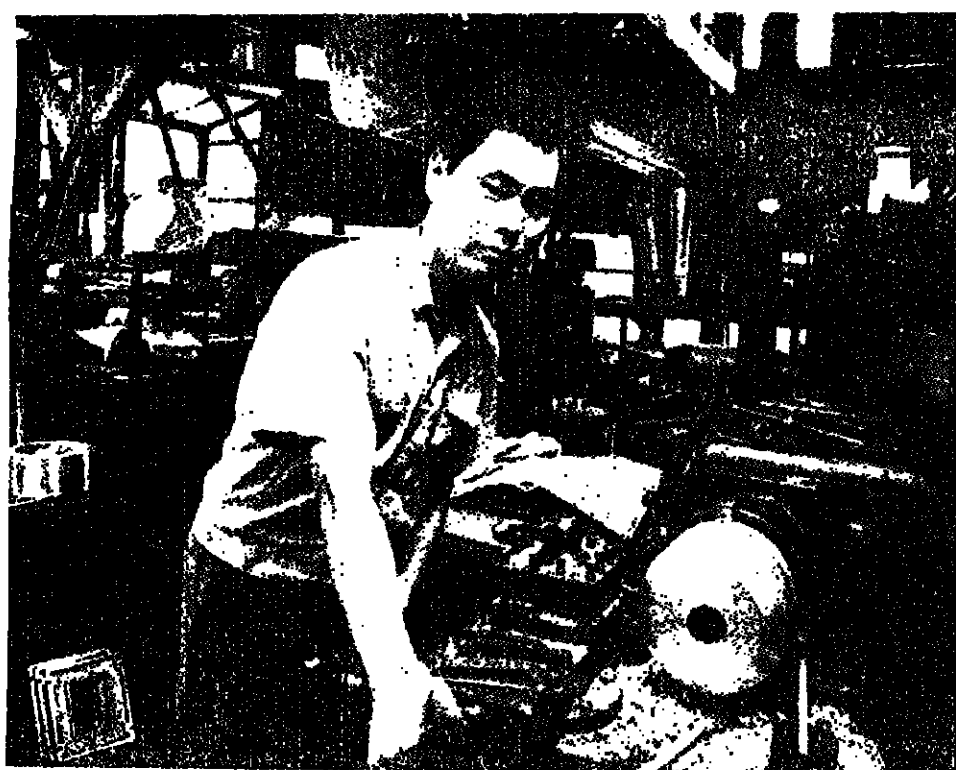
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# Slower growth rate predicted for Japan as economic 'pause' lingers



Mechanist at small Tokyo factory

By David K. Willis

Japanese wages are expected to jump 10 percent in 1977



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The chief manager of research for the Fuji Bank, Ltd., discusses major factors that will affect Japan's economic situation in 1977.

By Shinji Tsuji  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor



Shinji Tsuji

The Japanese economy is expected to grow by only about 6 percent in 1977 as it tries to shake off the vestiges of its recent pause.

Factors that are both external and internal to the economy will operate to limit that growth.

The external factors include:  
• Economic policies of the new Cabinet: The "pause" in the economic recovery has become more serious than anticipated. Under these conditions, the Cabinet probably will take fiscal and monetary measures to stimulate the economy.

These measures undoubtedly will provide a certain uplift. But in view of the large fiscal deficit, the relentless upward pressure on prices and other limiting factors, the room for economic maneuvering seems extremely narrow.

A strong stimulative policy of the kind used in former recessions hardly seems feasible.

• Developments in the world economy: The recovery in the world economy also will continue, but the growth rate will be lower than in 1976.

Last year, Japan's economy achieved an export-led recovery. But in 1977, the rate of expansion in world trade will be lower. This will weaken the role of exports as a leading recovery factor.

• Oil prices: The increase in oil prices, which took effect on Jan. 1, will be smaller than expected. The oil shortage predicted for the middle of 1977 probably will not materialize.

This, however, will be due to the stagnation in the world economy, which has blunted the thrust of the price rise. Oil will remain a destabilizing factor limiting economic growth.

The internal factors include:

• Rate of wage increases: The rise in incomes is decisive for the increase in personal consumption expenditures which account for more than half of gross national product (GNP). The wage negotiations carried out in the spring of each year form the basis for increases in about two-thirds of annual wages and salaries.

These, in turn, make up 50-60 percent of personal incomes. The other third consists of bonus and overtime payments. In 1976, the average wage increase was 8.8 percent. In 1977, a rise of about 10 percent may be agreed upon. If the increase in commodity prices is taken into account, no large expansion in consumer spending is expected.

• Supply-demand gap: The most important single reason for the halting progress of the recovery was the disappointing performance of equipment investment.

The stagnation is blamed mainly on a large gap between supply capacity and demand. In the manufacturing industry, the output rate still remains between 70 and 80 percent. It will take time to close the demand gap.

• Improvement of corporate earnings: The worst drop in corporate earnings occurred in the first half of 1976 since then, there has been a rather rapid recovery.

The tempo of the improvement in earnings will slow down hereafter, and any improvement will depend on the efforts of each enterprise.

• Inflation: The deceleration in the rate of the economy has made it difficult to achieve a rise in productivity. As a result, the upward pressure on prices is becoming stronger.

If the recovery picks up too much, the prices will come under stronger upward pressure. That may necessitate restrictive measures. This dilemma will persist.

• Yen exchange rate: From a longer point of view, the yen will remain strong. Short-term, the slowdown in the expansion of exports and the increase in the payments of oil imports may cause a certain weakness.

• Entrepreneurial attitudes: Businessmen's confidence in the future is of great importance to the economic growth in 1977.

At the present time, the assumption that the area of rapid growth has come to an end for the Japanese economy has been widely accepted by businessmen. Generally speaking, expansionary policies are met with great caution.

As long as enterprises retain this attitude, the stagnation in demand will continue. But a company will try to shorten its battle line. In turn will intensify the feeling of uncertainty. It will be difficult to break this vicious circle.

# West told how to sell in Japanese market

'Adapt yourselves to our sales methods'

By Takashi Oka  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo  
"Your salesmen in Japan live too well," Toshio Doko told his hosts when he visited Western Europe a couple of months ago. "If you want to sell in the Japanese market, you should use one of our big trading firms, like Misui or Mitsubishi. They will really point the pavements for you."

Octogenarian Mr. Doko talks frankly himself, and appreciates frankness in others. President of Kaidanren, the Federation of Economic Organizations, he has been called Japan's alternate prime minister because of the power wielded by the business establishment in Japan. But he disclaims the title.

In a recent interview with this correspondent at Kaidanren headquarters in Tokyo, Mr. Doko said that Japan had come to a turning point in its national politics.

"The Liberal Democrats [conservatives] nearly lost their majority in the recent elections. The moderate opposition parties gained. Kaidanren cannot afford to be identified solely with the Liberal Democrats."

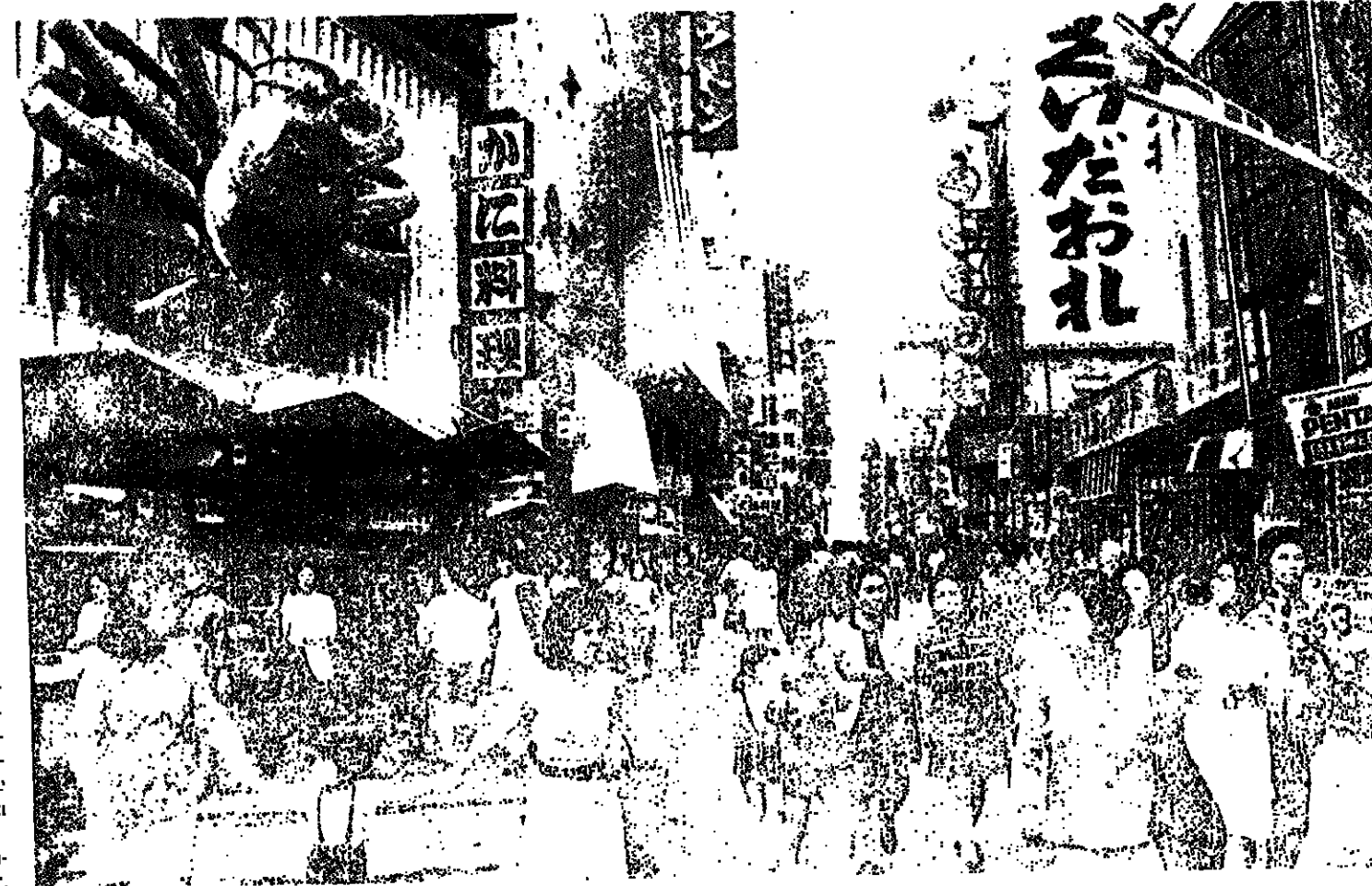
## Talking with socialists

"We've got to talk to the opposition parties, including the socialists [the largest opposition parties]. That's what our counterparts in Europe do. At least we've got to get the socialists to understand our point of view."

Did that mean that, until now, foreign accusations of "Japan Incorporated," of businessmen "in cahoots with government," were correct?

"There's no actual substance to Japan Incorporated," Mr. Doko said. In the early post-war days, yes, when Japan's business recovery had just got going and no one had any money.

"But today, we businessmen are the only



The Japanese market: a lucrative target for American and West European businessmen

ones who have any vision, any plan. The politicians certainly don't have any."

Mr. Doko visited Europe with a delegation including the presidents of Japan's largest companies — Misui, Nippon Steel, Sumitomo Chemical, the Fuji Bank to mention only a few. The purpose was to try to head off what seemed to be a looming trade war between Western Europe and Japan. At issue is Japan's increasing balance-of-trade surplus with the nine European Community countries — \$3 billion in 1975, and more than \$4 billion in 1976.

## Expanded trade proposed

The approach Mr. Doko proposed was to balance trade by expanding it, not by measures such as import curbs. The curbs would have the effect of restricting trade.

The Kaidanren mission asked for and obtained a list of manufactured items that Britain wanted to sell to Japan in larger amounts.

including munitions and air planes. This list has been passed on to the Japanese Government, which has promised quick action.

"But we will have to keep after them [the government]," Mr. Doko said. He has the air of a bulldog and a reputation for tenacity.

He spearheaded the post-war revival of two major companies — Ishikawajima-Harima Industries (shipbuilders and manufacturers of heavy engineering equipment) and Toshiba, the electrical and electronics giant — before taking on his Kaidanren job two years ago.

Mr. Doko insists that Europeans and others who wish to sell goods in the Japanese market must acclimatize themselves to the ways of that market and to its intensely competitive sales methods. Instead of living in expatriate compounds.

He is equally frank in criticizing the herd instinct of Japanese living abroad.

There are, in other words, barriers of culture and habit on both sides which must be broken down if Japan is to become a fully integrated member of the world community.

"We recognize our responsibilities to the world," Mr. Doko said. "Japan, West Germany, and the United States are the strongest economies. We have to do the most to aid the world economy out of recession. That is why we will need 7 percent economic growth in Japan next year."

"When the economy doesn't grow, and there's a recession, that's when our industries push exports, because they can't sell enough in the domestic market," he said.

Mr. Doko regretted that a lot of time had been lost already because of political turmoil. The Lockheed scandal absorbed the entire interest of the government and politicians last year.

## 'Vision for the future'

When he spoke of a vision for the future, he said, he meant the structural reorganization of the Japanese economy. "It's a tremendous task, but we've already started doing it," he said. "I think we're ahead of West Germany, even of the United States, in this respect."

With all Japan's vaunted reputation for efficiency, there were still too many sectors that were weak and lacked international competitiveness.

Caustic soda was one such field. There were still 36 manufacturers in that field facing great difficulties in changing from a system using dangerous mercury to the safe but expensive diaphragm method.

Dow Chemical had trouble getting approval for a wholly owned soda plant in Japan precisely because of this problem, Mr. Doko said.

"Now, it turns out that European manufacturers use a mercury method that is as safe as the diaphragm method and much cheaper," Mr. Doko said. "So what are our manufacturers to do? Those that converted early are the ones who may now lose out, because their conversion costs have been so high."

"I told Mr. Callaghan," Mr. Doko said, "that as the developing countries begin to catch up with us, we are all going to have difficulty with our exports. Japan certainly, Britain too. Britain has got to find things to sell that we want. And we have got to do the same. Each of us is going to have to develop his special field of quality and competence. That's the process we have embarked upon, and I'm sure we will bring it to fruition."

# U.S. economic bounce draws Japanese investors

By Ron Scherer  
Business and financial correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

New York  
Japanese direct investments in the United States will be increasing this year.

The increase, following a short stagnation in the Japanese economy, will continue along the normal lines of Japanese investment: commerce and financial services.

There are several reasons for the increase, says Teruhiko Tsuji, senior economist stationed with the Fuji Bank, Ltd., New York agency.

One factor is the speedier economic recovery in the United States, making investment here more attractive.

Another reason, says the Fuji Bank economist, is that "total labor" costs here are now more favorable than in Japan. In the U.S. Japanese companies face only salary and pension and other fringe costs. In Japan, the commitment of worker to a lifetime of employment with one company boosts the total cost of employment. During recessions, workers are not laid off. Further, fringe benefits are especially high as the company sometimes provides housing, medical attention, and supplemental needs.

Another important factor, says Mr. Tsuji, is that productivity is high in the U.S. Thus, a higher educational level in the United States

offsets cheaper labor in Asian countries where Japanese companies might consider investing.

## Problems of investment

However, there often are difficulties in investing in the U.S. Notes Akio Suzuki, an officer of Sumitomo Shoji America, Inc., "In our case we don't like to make a 100 percent investment. We would like local partners for our projects, and there are problems in finding the right American partner." Still, he continues, "state governments, particularly in the South, are very eager to bring in new industries. They have good labor forces and an abundant energy supply."

In some cases, local governments have been quite aggressive in courting Japanese investments.

In Auburn, New York, for example, the efforts of Mayor Paul W. Latimore brought in a Japanese mini-steel mill. Because the mill was built in an area of high unemployment (7.1 percent at the time), the Japanese received a tax break. A major portion of the \$18 million investment was raised by a state agency, with the Japanese only placing an immediate investment of \$1 million.

Such preferential treatment recently prompted a comment from the chairman of a major U.S. steel producer that he's faced by hostile environmentalists whereas foreign investors are courted.

Some other Japanese investments in the U.S.

include an aircraft plant in Texas, a lumber mill in Alaska, a yarn manufacturing plant in South Carolina, and a soy sauce production facility in Wisconsin. Japanese businessmen have also been major investors in real estate in Hawaii, Texas, and Florida.

## Most funds go elsewhere

The bulk of Japanese direct investment abroad, however, has not gone to the United States. In 1975, of \$3.3 billion invested abroad, only about 20 percent went to commerce-related investment, chiefly in the United States. Probably the largest single investment was in oil development in Sakhalin, just north of Japan, and Saudi Arabia (\$605 million). Manufacturing investments were directed mainly to Southeast Asia.

Probably a substantial portion of the \$3.2 billion spent in 1975 went out as company-to-company loans. For example, out of \$15.9 billion invested overseas since 1961, about \$6.1 billion was actually involved in such company-to-company loans. These are not bank loans, but represent loans Japanese companies make with foreign companies to receive either finished products or raw materials.

Raw materials received a major share of Japan's investment abroad. Some 28 percent of 1975's overseas investments were spent of copper, coal, or oil development. Manufacturing received 32.4 percent, commerce 18.9 percent, and financial services 8.2 percent.



## home



Photos by Barri J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

'Our van is our home, and we have traveled in it coast to coast'

## Pumpkin into golden coach? Well, sort of

By Lynn Holland  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

We had been hiking through the thermal basins of Yellowstone National Park all day, and we were tired. The rain that had started as a light mist had developed into a downpour. It was getting dark as we pulled into the campground, and as we drove around, we found every space occupied.

It was a camping situation I used to dread, but no more. I maneuvered into a tight little space behind the bathroom, slipped out from behind the wheel, lit a candle, and proceeded to cook dinner. It was when I saw the look of gratitude on the faces of the motorcycle campers I invited in from their shivering post beneath a tree that I really began to appreciate our funny-looking, lopsided, mismatched, unpainted van-camper home.

Three months and 3,000 miles ago, my husband and I had found the basic van in a used-car lot, huddled between a smashed tractor and a Mack truck. It had a cracked windshield, broken locks, bald tires, dents, rust, dirt, and rattles so loud that conversation was impossible. What it did have, however, was a V-8 engine (necessary for pulling extra weight over mountains), a heavy-duty suspension, and wraparound windows that afforded ventilation even on rainy days.

We had no training as carpenters, and we knew it would take a lot of converting to make it a camper, but now our van is our home, and

we have traveled with it coast to coast across the U.S.A.

The major change we made was cutting off the old top (using a saber saw and six blades—something like opening a can) and adding a new three-foot-high one to achieve an interior height of 6½ feet. It is made of two-by-four wooden studs, covered on the sides and top with one-quarter-inch plywood, and front and back with the sheet metal from the old top of the van. The angle of the front follows the slope of the windshield, providing an aerodynamically smooth plane. The sides of the top follow the curve of the sides of the van.

We attached the new wood top to the frame of the van on the sides with bolts and at front and back with pop rivets, and installed two second-hand screen and glass sliding storm windows, one on either side. We then caulked the window openings, the gutters where the top attaches to the van body, and the seams on the inside and coated them with epoxy on the outside. The exterior was also coated with marine fiber glass for waterproofing and primed in preparation for a final paint job.

The total cost for the top extension was \$80. Lumber, including plywood and studs, cost \$20; fiber glass for waterproofing, \$20; nails and other hardware, \$10; paint, \$7; and windows, \$21. (Commercially made tops of fiber glass cost upwards of \$400.)

Once the top was complete, the interior could be finished, with the only material we purchased—paneling. Enough to cover the top and sides cost \$15. Other interior carpentry



The major change was adding a new top for an interior height of 6½ feet

work utilized dismantled bookcases and scrap lumber; the linoleum was left over from two different kitchens; the insulation and propane tank were gifts; the sink an old enamel basin we found floating in a river. The cushions are third-hand, and on my last day of work I took great delight in cutting up all my dresses and making patchwork slipcovers.

The interior living space is 6 feet by 10 feet by 6½ feet. Starting with an empty shell, we

insulated all exposed metal, and covered that with paneling. The floor is one-quarter inch plywood, covered with linoleum. Benches along either side occupy two-thirds of the space, a sliding door and a utility unit takes up the rest.

The benches are rectangular frames covered with paneling, bolted to both wall and floor. The tops of the benches are recessed 1½ inches from the edge to form a lip which supports the boards which form the sleeping platform. At night, the platform covers the entire back of the van, during the day the boards are stored in a rack attached to the roof.

The utility unit has as a base a small second-hand electric refrigerator console, but, since the van is not wired for electricity, a Styrofoam ice chest does the actual cooling. Bolted to the top of the unit is a box with doors for storing the stove and utensils; it contains the sink and a countertop as well. The entire unit is made of scrap lumber; the sink is an old enamel basin with a hole cut in the bottom and makeshift plumbing.

After the basic carpentry was completed, finishing touches included curtains (spring rods make opening and closing easy and prevent sagging), and a propane tank attached to the back of the van.

The greatest advantage of van camping, though, is the ease—no tents to take down or put up in the cold and rain, a place for everything (well, almost), and the privacy, security, and warmth of solid walls. There is room to stretch out on long drives and a place to go to get away from the road. And there is the enjoyment of something we built with our own hands at a total conversion cost of \$100.

When a stranger approaches us in a campground and says, "That's some rig you've got there," we just smile and say, "It certainly is!"

## people

## Siobhan McKenna Remembering Belfast: the caring was mutual

By Louise Sweeney  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

She is an Irish actress, as if you didn't know from the cascade of auburn hair and the brogue as soft as moss and the snip of her wit.

She is Siobhan McKenna, of Dublin's famous Abbey Theatre, and she is talking about the way it was when she, a staunch defender of the Republic of Ireland, decided to give benefit performances in war-torn Northern Ireland.

"When I was doing my one-woman show in London I read about the floods and I thought, 'Oh, as if they haven't had enough!'"

### Profile

And I thought this is one time when I don't have to ask the other actors if they will do this for nothing. . . . So she decided to do the benefit for a non-denominational group "that sends children of all creeds on holiday."

"And you know, a lot of people in Dublin said, 'are you not afraid, going up there?' And I said, no, I'm going up there because I care."

She remembers how it was in Belfast when she brought her one-woman show to a converted cinema there: "It was very wonderful to hear the buzz before the curtain went up, because I knew that no one went into that theater who could possibly say 'Where do the Cats sit? And where do the Prots sit?' They sat wherever there was a seat, including the aisles. And it was successful," she beams. "I did a second week."

### 'Welcome to Belfast'

"And they would pass me on the street, and look at me, and then they'd stop and say, 'Welcome to Belfast, Miss McKenna' . . . and they would say, 'Thank you for coming.' People care if you care. You must care. You can't go through life not caring."

She is in real life somewhat like the role she's been playing in an Abbey Theatre tour of the U.S. The role is that of the caring woman, Bessie Burgess in Sean O'Casey's classic about the earlier Irish civil war, "The Plough and the Stars." It is Bessie, trying to nurse her worst enemy back to health, who sings "Lead Kindly Light" to comfort her. "One step enough for me."



By Nan Packard

McKenna — 'One step enough for me'

Miss McKenna quotes the hymn, "I think is one of the most marvelous lines in the whole play."

On stage in the role of Bessie she is formidable, a strong, feisty woman with her hair bunned up under an old black pancake of a hat, a brown shawl over her rusty cardigan sweater and print blouse and long skirt. She looks rather like an avenging Mary Poppins, and she puts up her dukes like a prize fighter when another O'Casey

woman challenges her in an argument. Siobhan McKenna does not play weak ladies.

She's been Brecht's "Mother Courage," Shaw's "Saint Joan," and the quintessence of strong Irish women, Juno in O'Casey's "Juno and the Paycock." "Saint Joan" was her favorite role, she says, but which of all her roles has been closest to her own character? "I would like to say with [Eleonora] Duse I've been a thousand women and

loved every one of them, and I hope I have been every one of them." "Saint Joan as a person fascinated me from childhood," she explains, telling about growing up poor in Galway and spending her tiny allowance to buy part two of a life of Jeanne d'Arc that she couldn't wait to read free in school in the following class.

### A new green suit

This actress who lives in a world of exotic costumes remembers growing up wearing only hand-me-down clothes from her sister. Then the magic day came when she had a new green suit for St. Patrick's Day "and I didn't know how to get my body into it" — because it wasn't worn smooth. Her father was a professor of mathematics at Galway University and although they lacked money he gave her a rich education: She knew algebra and higher mathematics at five.

"I never wanted to be an actress," she says. "It never entered my head." Until she was 15, and played the part of a Chinese man in an operetta. The director said, "she really must be an actress . . . she'd make a lovely comedienne for the Abbey Theatre."

Later she got a scholarship to Galway University, and because she and her father both loved the Gaelic language, began acting at the Tardheare, the Irish-language theater. Recently her career has included a spate of directing, too: "I don't direct. I draw out."

After the Washington tour there's a vacation of five days at home in Dublin with her husband, Abbey Theatre actor Dennis O'Dea and their son, Donnacha (Gaelic for Dennis), an Olympic swimmer. Then on to London to play that fierce Queen Jocasta, in a production of Euripides' "The Phoenician Women" with Sir Michael Redgrave as Oedipus. "It's an extraordinarily modern play, just as 'The Plough and the Stars' is, about a civil war between two sons."

Before London she might have time for her favorite way to unwind: "Water has a very tranquillizing effect on me. . . . I'm not really that temperamental on the outside but I am on the inside, so what I do at home is I just get on a bus, get to the sea, and let a shout or two at a seagull, they're screaming anyway. I'm absolutely whole, then, I'm fine."

## Roles of mothers examined

By Eloise T. Lee

Through the feminist movement or the publicity it has generated, many mothers are examining their traditional role in family life.

Sometimes their altered relationship with their families seems harsh indeed. I was sad to hear recently two of my friends had abandoned their husbands and children to "do their own thing." This selfish renunciation of their prior commitments to marriage and child-raising seems to me very unlikely to help them achieve their professed goals of whole womanhood.

In contrast, the experience of a third friend illustrates how a mother's growing concept of herself and her role has strengthened and enriched the experience of her whole family.

She and her husband and six children (rather closely bunched together in age) live in the same modest house in which

the husband and wife began their married life. But the house seems to have elastic walls. There is always room for youthful and adult friends, and, in recent years, a succession of foreign students.

Supporting this large family required many long hours on the part of the father. Meanwhile, the mother stayed at home providing the meals, clothes, consolation, discipline, peace proposals, and faith in the future needed in the early years.

But even while the children were small, the mother "escaped" once a week to sing with a civic choral group. The father and children attended the group's performances. At home, the mother's singing established an air of joy and faith that prevailed over the crises of daily life.

When the youngest child at last entered school, the mother proposed that she had earned a vacation and would like to spend two weeks in Paris. So off she went on her big adventure. And when she returned, refreshed and delighted by all she had seen,

she conveyed to her children and husband an irresistible enthusiasm for the world beyond their neighborhood. Other trips have followed, always with the same happy results.

This friend exemplifies for me a truly liberated woman. She and her husband deeply love each other; their children have become interesting, responsible teenagers; she has continued to sing with the choral group all these years; her travels bring her fresh, interesting views and the assurance she is capable of managing on her own.

Instead of attempting to free herself for personal fulfillment by knocking down or trampling over the institution of family, she seized the opportunities for self-realization which existed right in the very situation in which she had earlier placed herself. She has achieved what many women seek — peace of mind and conscience, joy in living, and avenues for sharing the best that she has with others.

## Lining up for a live-in llama

By Brad Knickerbocker  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Sebastopol, California

When Sally Taylor's small group of friendly but unusual beasts began attracting crowds, she finally had to put up a "visits by appointment only" sign. For here, an hour north of San Francisco, has developed one of America's first native herds of traditionally South American animals — llamas.

Not to be confused with a "lamasery" (where Tibetan priests gather), the River Hole Llamasery in three years has grown from the original patriarch ("Itama") and a mate to a herd of 7 males and 19 females and a thriving business for Mrs. Taylor and her husband, Paul.

Llamas are particularly attractive for several reasons, Mrs. Taylor said, as she introduced a visitor to friendly and curious Geraldine, Sybil, Ophelia, four-day-old Poco, and the others.

"They're really fascinating animals. I could spend all my time watching them," she said. "They're very peaceful, they learn quickly, and require very little upkeep." They settle individual disputes by discussion and have only one bad habit: When mad at one another or a human, they . . . er . . . ex-pectorate.

The llamas respond by name and follow Mrs. Taylor around like dogs. They're easily taught to lie down or to jump into the back of the Taylors' pickup truck, and some even come into the house for a visit or a bit of television.

Llamas are especially good pack animals. The typical 300-pound male can carry up to 100 pounds 20 miles a day, and with his camel-like soft, leathery two-toed feet can go many places a horse can't. Llamas do less damage to trails and

mountain meadows than horses, and don't mind eating pine needles (as long as you assure them they'll get hay back home).

Llama wool is also much sought-after and sells for \$1 an ounce. The llamas are combed (not clipped like sheep), and Mrs. Taylor now spins her own yarn and has recently taken up knitting. The color of the wool ranges from white, through all shades of brown, to black.

Over the past few years, the Taylors have acquired several llamas from zoos in the United States and now have enough to keep up a good-size breeding herd on their own. The females have one offspring a year, and word has spread around the U.S. and Canada, so that now baby llamas are spoken for even before they are born. The males cost \$850 and the females \$1,500.

Typical of the Taylors' customers is Judith Braden, a third-grade teacher in Eureka, California. Miss Braden spent a summer in South America two years ago, decided she'd like to add a llama to her growing pet collection, and responded to the Taylors' newspaper ad. She now has six llamas and is advertising two for sale.

Llamas were first domesticated nearly 3,000 years ago in South America and are still the principal beast of burden in the Andes mountains. Congress 40 years ago passed a law banning the import of llamas (because of a fear of disease at that time), so the relatively few in the U.S. have been confined to zoos and animal parks.

But now they're becoming increasingly popular as pets and pack animals. So Sally Taylor figures that, unless Congress repeals the ban on llama importing, she has a good hold (if not a corner) on a growing market.



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Cute, but not likely to replace Rover



## arts/books

A  
modern  
Breughel

By Dragutin Domoc

It was a dark, freezing afternoon, shortly before last Christmas, when I went to see Ivan Lackovic, the Yugoslav primitive painter. I have been over that same path many times before. The road that starts at the end of the tram line and follows the muddy bank of the small canal and then disappears between the rows of small houses in one of the poorest suburbs of Zagreb. He opened the door and then stood for a moment in the narrow and dark corridor until he could make out my face. Then, with a smile on his pale and gaunt face, he stretched his hand and reached out for my shoulder.

"Come, come in," he said.  
I followed him into the small room, the room I have visited many times. Before they had moved into an apartment in the city, this used to be their living room, bedroom and whatever else. He keeps coming back to this small, two-room house, this place which had seen so much hardship, rejection, disappointment and finally, success.

He pulled out a chair. "Sit down, my friend, and make yourself at home."

"I came unannounced," I said. "Someone said that you won't see anyone, won't even answer the phone."

"Don't believe everything that is said about me."

"At least they're talking about you. They're not silent any longer."

He shrugged. "I'm not so sure. For some of the people I still don't exist."

I knew what he meant. Zagreb is filled with his work. Prints of his paintings are even in store windows, on calendar, book covers, Christmas cards. A postage stamp with one of his paintings came out last year. But all of this came only after exhibits in Geneva, Stockholm, London, New York, Paris. After the gold medal in Rome, after the honor in Laval.

He is barely forty-four years old now. Yet, it has been a hard, often brutal road to fame.



'Country Scene': Oil on canvas by Ivan Lackovic

Courtesy of the artist

Born in a village in Podravina, considered the cradle of Croatian native art, he was only twelve when poverty forced him to work as a day laborer. At twenty-three, married and father of a small boy, he found a job as a mail carrier in Zagreb. All this time he was drawing, painting, hoping that one day he might be able to earn a living with his art.

Then he was introduced to Krsto Hegedusic, the grand old man of Yugoslav painters. Hegedusic, whose own work had also to wait years before it was recognized by Zagreb's art-museum directors, was impressed by the excellence of Lackovic's drawings. They

remained friends until Hegedusic's death a few years ago. The same cannot be said of some of the other "native" painters that have come out of villages of Podravina. They owe an equally great debt to Hegedusic, and while they have made use of his artistry, they quickly forgot his philosophy. Some of these men have made a great deal of money and they live now in new houses equipped with most modern appliances, their farm work performed by hired hands. But where they still work at their art, their paintings lack the essential truth of their time and their past lives.

There is a kind of sensitivity of Lackovic's drawings and oils that captivates and moves the viewer. It has been said that beyond aesthetic values it is the true earthiness of the Croat peasant which lifts Lackovic's work above many of the other "naive" painters of Yugoslavia. There might be a good reason to compare Lackovic with Breughel. As a matter of fact, in Yugoslavia he is referred to as "Our Breughel." Obvious, Lackovic lacks the robust expression or masterly facility in complex composition Breughel's work. On the other hand, there is that exquisite mythical symbolism and lyric quality not really characteristic of Breughel's work. The winter scenes are mediated in a Yugoslav art world. In his work, which is mostly on glass, a painting process that has become a lost art in the West, World One left his deep understanding of life of the peasant and his kind. Lackovic profoundly retentive and does not hide his feelings. He is not unduly criticized for that, owing to his strong sense for social justice. All this comes through in his painting and drawings.

Lackovic's work is much sought after in Western Europe today. Six years ago I found one of his glass paintings in a gallery in London. The price, \$2,000, was at the time the artist was lucky to get two hundred dollars for one of his paintings. Little did he know how much his work had reached him. Perhaps this is the reason why the criterion of the art market that had kept him out of the "naive" art, and which appeared in Italian and Swiss press, did not include Lackovic. In spite of his success abroad and his popularity with people in his native land, there are still books published in Yugoslavia that omit Lackovic. Yet he will not compromise his life and his work, and is unwilling to play the game by the rules set by those who are empowered to decide who is to be in and who should be a "non person" in the Yugoslav art world.

In 1975 the Museum of Henri Louis and France organized an individual exhibition of Lackovic's work, the only foreigner thus honored in France. The first thing that Lackovic did on arrival in Laval was to visit the cemetery and place flowers on the Bonaparte grave. Far from his own country he has been honored in a way his own country has never honored him. Perhaps the good people of Laval have found something in the work of this one-time peasant and mail carrier that the directors of government-sponsored museums in Yugoslavia have failed to discover.

## Non-fiction: Saul Bellow's 'To Jerusalem and Back'

To Jerusalem and Back: A Personal Account, by Saul Bellow. London: Secker & Warburg. £3.90.

By Roderick Nordell

Novelist Saul Bellow's first, gleaming book of nonfiction comes at the time of his Nobel prize for literature and on the heels of his Pulitzer prize for fiction ("Humboldt's Gift"). In it he takes us with him and his mathematician wife to the human heart of Israel behind the media images of Middle East diplomacy and conflict.

"We've come to believe that passionate intensity is all on the side of wickedness," Bellow writes after confirming to himself once

## Books

more that this belief is wrong. He finds this intensity in the wife of an Israeli novelist, for example, living in a poor Arab quarter, taking in sick children, giving up her bed to a donkey that needed care. "At times her eccentricities make her seem a bit crazy, but on examination she proves to be not crazy but good."

As Bellow savors his brief encounters or long conversations in a skilled patchwork of a narrative, he echoes or exemplifies bits from a broad range of reference. He thinks about Andrei Sinyavsky keeping his journal in a Soviet prison. "Perhaps to remain a poet in such circumstances is also to reach the heart of politics. Then human feelings, human experience, the human form and face, recover their proper place — the foreground."

Twenty years ago, in an essay on fiction, Bellow put it unabashedly: "A book, any book, may easily be superfluous. But to manifest

love — can that be superfluous? Is there so much of it about us?"

Certainly it is needed by the Israelis. Bellow quotes some censorious opinions such as the idea that Israel pridefully erred by seeking to expand power, losing sight of the reason for its founding — to rescue the Jews. But he conveys the necessity of understanding a sense of living where national survival itself seems problematic. Indeed, there are echoes of another passage in that earlier essay, where Bellow ponders the prophets of the "obsolescence" of the Jews.

When the British hear of a bomb going off in their capital, they don't have to wonder whether their country's very existence is threatened, he notes. The Israelis cannot avoid such thoughts. Nor can they afford to take a day off from the world's headlines of calamity, as Bellow feels he can, safe in his American security.

An equally humane account of the Palestinians remains to be done by a writer as fully attuned to them. Bellow presents varying expert views of the tragic Arab-Israeli strife. But "To Jerusalem and Back" primarily evokes the way Israel feels to Israelis and to their Jewish Chicagoan visitor. Set in a context of Mr. Bellow's reading as well as observation, the result is a commentary of America along with Israel.

"It is both a garrison state and a cultivated society, both Spartan and Athenian," he writes of Israel. "It tries to do everything, to understand everything, to make provision for everything. . . . Unrelenting thought about the world situation parallels the defense effort. These people are actively, individually involved in

universal history. I don't see how they can bear it."

To a certain extent the conscience of the world is aroused by the Jewish state, its valiant people, and the long-suffering Arab refugees. But a sad deterioration in world support is described in last summer's article, "The Abandonment of Israel," by Norman Podhoretz, editor of Commentary, published by the American Jewish Committee. And Bellow wryly suggests the perspective of some outsiders who are not really threatened by Middle Eastern plight.

"What Switzerland is to winter holidays and the Dalmatian coast to summer tourists, Israel and the Palestinians are to the West's need for justice — a sort of moral resort area."

As Mr. Bellow sees the Israelis hang onto their version of democracy, he thinks about other democracies: "They seem to have forgotten what they are about. They seem to be experimenting or gambling with their liberties, unwittingly preparing themselves for totalitarianism, or not quite consciously willing it. Those who know totalitarian societies are wondering when, if ever, Western societies will recognize their danger."

He quotes a Russian writer who recently came to Jerusalem and who believes that in the West enough of the old religious morality survives to preserve the parliamentary system: "Precisely for this reason, totalitarianism in all its forms, when striving to undermine the Western world, seeks first and foremost to destroy those institutional forms that are dictated by religious values."

But in between the warnings and the Mideast

tern theories which Bellow conveys is the human connecting tissue of a volume that does not pretend to reach any final illumination of its subject. "In flight, if the door of your plane comes open, when you are sucked into space, here in Jerusalem, when you shut your apartment door behind you, you fall into a gale of conversation — exposition, argument, harangue, analysis, theory, expostulation, threat, and prophecy."

It's all here, and Bellow loved it. Just as he seems to fondly regard the talkative Senator Hubert Humphrey back home: "My theory is that Humphrey learns by talking. . . . He knows the right thing when he sees it, or when he says it." He would be at home in Mr. Bellow's Jerusalem.

Roderick Nordell is the Monitor's assistant chief editorial writer.

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## travel

Prince Edward Island  
Small is beautiful, and  
getting smaller every yearBy Stewart Dill McBride  
Staff writer of  
The Christian Science Monitor

## Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island

Prince Edward Island, the small fry of Canada's ten provinces, has no inferiority complex, nor reason for one.

Truckers on the 45-minute ferry ride from Nova Scotia frequently quip that there is hardly room here for them to turn their trailers around. The island (commonly and affectionately known as "PEI") is a mere 80 miles long and continues to shrink every year.

Formed during the Ice Age, the cliffs of this silver of rusty sandstone are being nibbled away at the rate of five feet a year by the pounding ocean surf.

Few doubt that Prince Edward Island will be around for at least another several centuries, but that is little excuse for travelers to delay any longer a visit to this emerald in the Atlantic. Winter visitors, as well as those coming any other time of the year, have plenty to see and do.

Landscapes that would delight the taste and paintbrush of Andrew Wyeth, weathered barns and snow-covered farmland, silver foxes and hardy fishermen, will remind New Englanders of Maine. Furthermore, PEI shoulders the understated propriety of a Harris Tweed, the civility of a grandchild of the British Empire, the tidiness of a nation (like Holland) short on space. On Prince Edward Island, even clouds seem to know their place and are extremely well kept.

Winter blankets of cloud coat the undulating hills of the island with fluffy snow and turn open fields into a skating paradise. Unlike cross-country skiing in the dense woodland of northern Quebec, getting lost on PEI is an impossibility — the island is too small, and a red clay road or friendly farmhouse is never out of sight.

Touring the island's backyards on skis is perfectly acceptable, and specific ski trails and equipment rental are offered in three provincial parks — all suitable for day trips from one's lodging in the quaint capital city, Charlottetown. Visitors who prefer to participate from the sidelines will enjoy watching the skating, curling, and ice hockey which seem to occupy most every ice-covered pond on the island.

No talk of this smallest Canadian province would be adequate without superlatives. Though its total population has only just recently broken into six figures — it is the most densely populated of the provinces, and PEI has more miles of road per capita than any of the other 10 provinces. In most lands, an abundance of asphalt can hardly be classified as an asset, but here the summer pavement is bordered with a buttery mist of black-eyed Susans. And while Queen Anne may never have spent time on the throne with Prince Edward, her delicate namesake ("Queen Anne's lace") dominates his namesake island.

And the winter roads, the back ones, anyway, are just fine for ski-touring.

One distinct advantage of being undersized: Distances here are so short that road signs

rarely bother to give the mileage to the next town. And with the island's traffic-stopping panoramas, speed limits are redundant. Prince Edward Island is suited to be seen at a saunter. Her rolling terrain keeps scenery varied and offers sufficient challenge to thousands of cyclists in summer and snowshoosers or cross-country skiers in winter.

PEI is divided into three sections which, to many visitors' way of thinking, should be seen from west to east, reversed in rank of royalty: Prince, Queens, and Kings Counties.

The well-known Lady's Slipper Drive around the perimeter of the westernmost and least populated county Prince, is highlighted by oyster farms, Micmac Indians, and red clay roads. The stark simplicity of white steeped churches presides over fields mottled in sunlight filtering through passing clouds. Battered milk cans wait for the morning's "pickup" at the end of each driveway, where mailboxes read like a roll call of early Scottish settlers: McEldan, McKinnon, McLain — families from towns like Inverness, Kildare, and Devon.

For wayward city folks who wish to dirty their hands in barn chores, many of the working dairy farms on the island put up tourists on a "bed and breakfast" basis (for \$5 to \$10 a person) and don't mind if secretaries and insurance salesmen (or anyone else for that matter) take a tug on the cows' udders, feed the chickens, or even ride the old gray mare.

The adventurous traveler is well advised to journey the two-mile gravel road out to the northwestern tip of the island, North Cape. When you do, stroll out beyond the solitary, clapboard lighthouse with its haunting toghorn glowing in the wind and there, if there's no snow on the ground, you may witness the harvesting of Irish moss on the beach below.

And, if your timing is right, you'll spy a team of bulking horses, dragging the rocky beach for that fragile vegetation. It is dried on the cliffs, sorted, and then squeezed into a popular thickening agent which makes its way into ice cream served throughout Canada and the U.S.

Queens County, and most particularly the provincial capital, Charlottetown, is the island's cultural and historic centerpiece. In 1804, long after the British captured the island from early French settlers, Canada's founding fathers met in Charlottetown and formed the dominion of Canada.

Next to the Province House (which any Canadian grade schooler knows was the site of that famous meeting), now referred to as the "Birthplace of Canada," stands the Confederation Center, an exquisite new art and performance center. There, between June 28 and September 4, the internationally acclaimed musical "Anne of Green Gables" (a touching

## Bounce through Tunisia's oases on camel back

By Guy Anselmo Jr.  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor

Tunisia, like other desert countries, has several kinds of oases. Some, like those manufactured in Hollywood, have only limited plant life. But others, such as Nefta, Gabes, Kebili, and Tozeur, possess luxurious vegetation — some of which is important to the nation's economy.

Take Tozeur, located 265 miles southwest of



On Prince Edward Island 'even clouds are well kept'

tale of orphan Annie — "with an 'e' please!" she requests) is entering its third season. Performances are frequently sold out days in advance, so call ahead for ticket reservations.

A short drive from the capital city are family-style lobster suppers during the summer, held in churches and giant farmers' dining halls, which serve such home-cooked delights as steamed lobsters, hot biscuits, and cherry pie a la mode to as many as 1,000 hungry customers on an evening. For those who wish to wear off such hearty meals, PEI offers an abundance of tennis courts and golf courses, both 18-hole and miniature.

Speaking of miniatures, it seems only appropriate on this tiny island to recommend, finally, a visit to her monuments in miniature dedicated to the great sights of the Mother Country across the Atlantic.

In the town of Burlington summer visitors stroll among the Woodleigh replicas and ogle scale models of such British landmarks as the Tower of London, the Church of St. Martin-in-the-fields, and St. Paul's Cathedral.

The island even has a kid-size kingdom of miniatures, called Rainbow Land, where toddlers slide through fairy tale castles and scurry through a convincing model of Lucy Montgomery's (the much-loved and lauded author of "Anne of Green Gables") hometown, complete right down to a mill wheel in the stream and organ music in the village church.

On Prince Edward Island, one never has to be reminded: "Small Is Beautiful."

For more information about a winter or any other season visit here write: Tourism Services Division, P.O. Box 940, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island C1A 7M5.

Tunis, the capital, close to the Algerian frontier, at the edge of Chott El Djerid, a vast expanse of saline barrenness that divides Tunisia's "green north" from its "Saharan south." This watering spot is the largest oasis in North Africa. Its 32 square kilometers, 300,000 date palm trees, and great water reserves set it apart from all others.

Tozeur was called "Thusuros" by the Romans, who located water there and planted palm trees they had brought from Iraq. Fed by 200 natural springs, this magnificent oasis today grows the high quality Deglet Nur date. The premium prices this fruit commands allow date growers to enjoy a level of prosperity somewhat like that of the owner of a producing oil field.

When the visitor enters Tozeur, he leaves a piercing sun and temperatures ranging from 95 to 120 humid-less degrees F. (hotter when the "sirocco" wind blows off the Sahara) and enters into cool shade. The sound of rippling water, the sight of plump, ripening fruit, and the aroma of bougainvillea, hibiscus, and jasmine (the country's national flower) all combine to welcome him.

Camel-back is the most practical way to see

a large oasis like Tozeur, for interior terrain bars motor vehicles. Once the rider has adjusted to the strange bumping, swaying motion of the proverbial "ship of the desert," he can easily appreciate the immensity of towering palms and look out over ripening fields of golden fruit from his lofty perch.

Tozeur is a mix of stationary and mobile peoples. As the Tunisian Government explains, "The oasis appears like a world in miniature, reduced often to dependence on itself. But it is also a place of encounters and exchanges. An intense life is carried on there, where the sedentary oasis dweller and the nomadic shepherd rub shoulders."

The oasis is, indeed, an intensely social place. Beside channels that distribute fast-moving water throughout the "garden," Arab and Berber women boat the family wash as their offspring create their own swim club nearby. At the weekly market, members of various desert tribes congregate to haggle over clothing, henna powder, and aromatic cooking herbs.

In a seeming desert wasteland, Tozeur provides a setting where foreigners and Tunisians can meet.

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# French/German

## Editorial

### Les adieux de M. Ford

Quel est l'Américain qui n'a pas applaudi silencieusement avec le Congrès tandis que le président Ford se tenait debout devant cette assemblée pour prononcer son message sur l'état de l'Union? Le sincère épanchement de chaleur humaine, l'éclat spontané d'affection, l'émotion sur tout esprit de parti et furent certainement partagés par chacun des citoyens du pays.

Dans ces derniers jours de la présidence de M. Ford il est difficile d'éviter le sentimentalisme. Mais tandis que M. Ford prononçait peut-être le discours le plus efficace de sa carrière présidentielle, nos cœurs ne pouvaient que se remplir d'un profond respect pour l'homme qui a fait traverser à l'Amérique deux années et demie difficiles avec fierté pour les «lois constitutionnelles» qui ont permis à sa gestion bienveillante de se faire jour.

Il est dans la tradition d'évoquer le thème de l'unité et de la continuité à un moment pareil. M. Ford l'a fait avec une grâce caractéristique. Même lorsqu'il

a fait ressortir les difficultés du passé, il a regardé vers l'avenir et il a offert son soutien et ses prières au président entrant. C'était plus que de simples mots. Il suffit de se promener dans les bureaux de Washington pour découvrir rapidement l'esprit général de coopération qui fait de cette transition la plus affable et la plus efficiente de mémoire d'homme.

Que M. Ford ait résumé son œuvre en mettant fortement l'accent sur ce qu'il a accompli, c'est son dû. Il n'a jamais donné l'impression d'être aussi confiant en soi ou présidentiel, et cela démontre la mesure de sa croissance. Toutefois, beaucoup de gens sentent qu'il a décrit l'état de l'Union sous des teintes plus radieuses que ne le permet la situation; après tout il n'a pas gagné la partie devant l'électorat américain. En effet, si M. Ford avait lui-même vigoureusement et de façon créatrice poursuivi jusqu'au bout ces domaines d'activités dont il a parlé: l'énergie, l'emploi, la réorganisation du gouverne-

ment, il aurait probablement conservé le pouvoir.

Le reproche que le président a fait au Congrès aurait obtenu plus de crédibilité si son propre leadership avait été assez efficace pour provoquer cette ére promise de «coopération et de conciliation». Ce but n'a pas été atteint.

Dans ses grandes lignes, cependant, nous pouvons partager l'évaluation de M. Ford et apprécier ce qu'il nous laisse. L'économie, bien que lente encore, émerge graduellement hors du creux de la vague de la stagnation. La politique étrangère américaine est saine, avec de tels aspects positifs à son crédit que des perspectives de paix améliorées dans le Moyen-Orient et des alliances renforcées. La défense nationale qui, selon la mise en garde explicite de M. Ford, doit être épaulée pour demeurer au niveau de celle des Russes, est fondamentalement forte.

Par-dessus tout — et on ne pourra le rappeler trop souvent aux Américains aussi bien aujourd'hui que dans l'avenir

— M. Ford a fait pénétrer à la Maison Blanche un esprit plus ouvert, plus noble et plus courtois après les ravages de Watergate. Heureusement le président n'est pas allé jusqu'à revendiquer, au qu'il l'a fait dans le passé, que la confiance publique dans le gouvernement est complètement restaurée. Il est clair qu'elle ne l'est pas. Mais grâce à la force de son caractère, qui incorpore qu'il y a de meilleur dans l'Amérique, de tous les jours, le président a effectivement abandonné les façons de faire de haines de manipulation et de tromperie des années Nixon et a posé le socle fondamental d'une direction gouvernementale honnête sur laquelle le nouveau leadership peut construire. Le processus de guérison a bien commencé.

Ainsi, prenant en considération l'époque sombre que le pays a traversée et dont il est sorti, l'état de l'Union est bon. Et, en raison de cela, le président doit jouir de la bonne volonté et de la gratitude continues de tous les Américains.

### Fords Abschied

Welcher Amerikaner hat nicht im stillen zusammen mit dem Kongress Beifall gesendet, als Präsident Ford vor diesem Gremium stand, um seinen Bericht über die Lage der Nation zu geben? Die tiefempfundenen Wärme, der spontane Ausdruck der Herzlichkeit überwinden jedes Parteigängertum und teilten sich zweifellos jedem Bürger des Landes mit.

In diesen letzten Tagen, wo Ford das Amt des Präsidenten innehat, ist es schwer, nicht sentimental zu werden. Aber als Präsident Ford seine vielleicht wirkungsvollste Rede während seiner ganzen Amtszeit hielt, mußte uns einfach eine tiefe Anerkennung für den Mann erfüllen, der die Verhältnisse des Landes in glänzenden Tönen beschrieb, als die Situation es rechtfertigt; schließlich hat ja seine Sache bei der amerikanischen Wählerschaft nicht gewonnen. Ja, wenn Ford sich für die von ihm erwähnten Bereiche, die ihm Sorgen bereiteten — Energie, Arbeitsplätze, die Neuorganisation der Regierung —, selbst tatkräftig und einflussreich ein-

gegriffen. Selbst als er in der Vergangenheit weilt, blickte er in die Zukunft und versprach dem neuen Präsidenten, ihn zu unterstützen und für ihn zu beten. Dies waren keine bloßen Worte. Man braucht nur die Büros in Washington zu besuchen, um schnell den allgemeinen Geist der Zusammenarbeit festzustellen, der diesen Übergang in unserer Erinnerung zu einem der erfreulichsten und bestfunktionierenden macht.

Daß Ford, als er auf seine Leistungen zurückblickte, das Erreichte sehr hervorhob, ist sein Recht. Er klang noch nie so selbstsicher oder wie ein Präsident, und das zeigt, wie sehr er gewachsen ist. Viele werden jedoch das Gefühl haben, daß er die Verhältnisse des Landes in glänzenden Tönen beschrieb, als die Situation es rechtfertigt; schließlich hat ja seine Sache bei der amerikanischen Wählerschaft nicht gewonnen. Ja, wenn Ford sich für die von ihm erwähnten Bereiche, die ihm Sorgen bereiteten — Energie, Arbeitsplätze, die Neuorganisation der Regierung —, selbst tatkräftig und einflussreich ein-

gesetzt hätte, wäre er wahrscheinlich im Amt geblieben.

Die Vorwürfe, die Präsident Ford dem Kongress machte, wären ernster zu nehmen, wenn seine eigene Führerschaft wirkungsvoll genug gewesen wäre, um jenes verheißene Zeitalter der „Zusammenarbeit und Aussöhnung“ herbeizuführen. Dieses Ziel wurde aber nicht erreicht.

Im großen und ganzen jedoch können wir Ford zustimmen und sein Vermögen dankbar anerkennen. Wenn die Wirtschaft auch noch schwach ist, so erhebt sie sich doch allmählich aus einem Tief der Stagnation. Die amerikanische Außenpolitik ist gesund; sie hat solche Gewinne zu verzeichnen wie verbesserte Aussichten auf Frieden im Nahen Osten und auf gestärkte freundschaftliche Beziehungen. Die Verteidigung des Landes, die, wie Ford warnend ausführte, verbessert werden muß, um mit den Russen Schritt zu halten, ist im wesentlichen stark.

Vor allem aber — und die Amerikaner

können heute und in der Zukunft nie so oft daran erinnert werden — brachte Ford nach den vorhergehenden Wirkungen von Watergate eine neue Offenheit, Ehrlichkeit und Zivilisiertheit in das Weiße Haus. Wir sind froh, daß der Präsident nicht so weit ging, zu erklären, wie er dies in der Vergangenheit getan hat, daß das öffentliche Vertrauen auf die Regierung völlig wiederhergestellt ist. Offensichtlich ist das nicht der Fall. Aber durch die Stärke seines Charakters, der das Beste des alltäglichen Amerika zum Ausdruck bringt, besetzte der Präsident die manipulierenden und betrügerischen Methoden der Nixon-Jahre und er legte ein gutes Fundament für Ehrlichkeit in der Regierung, auf dem die neue Führung aufbauen kann. Der Heilungsprozess ist nun im Gange.

In Anbetracht der dunklen Zeiten, aus denen das Land sich erheben hat, befindet es sich also tatsächlich in einem guten Zustand. Und dafür wird Präsident Ford sicherlich weiterhin das Wohlwollen und die Dankbarkeit aller Amerikaner zuteil werden.

### Mr. Ford's farewell

What American did not quietly cheer along with Congress as President Ford stood before that body to deliver his State of the Union message? The genuine outpouring of warmth, the spontaneous burst of affection, transcended all partisanship and surely was shared by every citizen of the land.

In these final days of the Ford presidency it is hard to avoid sentimentalism. But, as Mr. Ford delivered perhaps the most effective speech of his presidential career, our hearts could not but fill with deep respect for the man who brought America through two and a half difficult years and with pride in the nation's "government of laws" that produced his genial stewardship.

It is traditional to ring the theme of unity and continuity at such a time. Mr. Ford did so with characteristic graciousness. Even as he

dwelt on the past, he looked to the future and extended his support and prayers to the incoming president. This was more than mere words. One has only to walk the offices of Washington to detect quickly the general spirit of cooperation that is making this one of the most affable and efficient transitions in memory.

That Mr. Ford should have summed up his record with a strong accent on accomplishment is his due. He never sounded so self-confident or presidential, and that shows the measure of his growth. Many, however, will feel that he described the State of the Union in tones glossier than the situation warrants; he did not after all win his case before the American electorate. Indeed, if Mr. Ford himself had vigorously and creatively followed through in those areas of concern he mentioned —

energy, jobs, government reorganization — he probably would be staying in office.

The President's scolding of Congress would have had more credibility if his own leadership had been skillful enough to bring about the promised era of "cooperation and conciliation." That goal remained unattained.

In broad outlines, nonetheless, we can share Mr. Ford's assessment and appreciate his legacy. The economy, while still tenuous, is emerging gradually out of a trough of stagnation. American foreign policy is sound, with such pluses to its credit as improved prospects for peace in the Middle East and strengthened alliances. The nation's defense, which Mr. Ford pointedly warned must be bolstered to keep abreast of the Russians, is basically strong.

Above all — and Americans today and in the

future cannot be reminded of this too often — Mr. Ford infused the White House with the openness, honesty, and civility after the ravages of Watergate. We are glad the President did not go so far as to claim, as he has in the past, that public trust in government had been fully restored. Clearly it has not. But through the force of his character, which embodied the best of everyday America, the President did strip away the manipulative and deceptive ways of the Nixon years and lay a strong foundation of honest conduct of government, on which the new leadership can build. The process of healing is well begun.

Thus, considering the dark times from which the country has emerged, the State of the Union is good. And for this President Ford is bound to enjoy the continuing goodwill and gratitude of all Americans.

# French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux, paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum  
(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

## Une vie pleine de sens

La liberté — quel mot merveilleux!

Mais la liberté, si elle n'est pas accompagnée de responsabilité, peut être un démon déguisé. La liberté signifie trop souvent le débridement, une évasion sans engagement net à quoi que ce soit de véritablement substantiel.

La liberté humaine, qu'elle soit une libération de problèmes familiaux, de codes sociaux que l'on trouve peut-être démodés, ou d'un gouvernement tyrannique, ne peut avoir de sens que si l'on s'en sert dans un cadre de croissance et de compréhension véritablement spirituelles.

Et cependant pour bien des jeunes qui débutent dans la vie, particulièrement pour ceux qui fréquentent le lycée ou l'université, il est compréhensible qu'ils soient tentés de voler de leurs propres ailes, d'enfreindre les règlements pour prouver qu'ils sont effectivement libres et de chercher la voie la plus rapide menant à la sécurité, au bonheur et au succès.

Pas si facile. Nous devons en apprendre davantage à notre propre sujet avant de pouvoir tenir ferme et trouver la force et le courage moral de prendre des décisions sages concernant notre avenir. Christ Jésus, toujours individualiste, donna cet avertissement: «Si un royaume est divisé contre lui-même, ce royaume ne peut subsister; et si une maison est divisée contre elle-même, cette maison ne peut subsister.»

Un homme aura-t-il plus de succès qu'un royaume ou une maison s'il est divisé contre lui-même? S'il prend véritablement conscience que sa vraie identité est l'expression spirituelle de Dieu, qu'il est en fait l'enfant de Dieu, créé par Dieu et qu'il n'existe aucun pouvoir sur terre qui puisse rétrograder ou renverser ce fait, il ne sera pas divisé. Il saura que Dieu, le Principe divin, l'a créé et qu'il reflète la loi et le dessein divins dans tout ce qu'il fait.

Comment met-on cette connaissance en pratique? Il faut commencer par l'humilité, par la prière, se tenir prêt à profiter des occasions spirituelles — des occasions par lesquelles nous pouvons prouver notre unité inséparable avec Dieu, le Père. La loi divine — la volonté de Dieu — devient la loi de notre vie. La prière est en réalité le fait de vivre tous les jours, d'exprimer tous les jours, le Principe divin.

Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne\*, consacre tout le premier chapitre du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne au sujet important de la prière. Elle écrit: «Les pensées inexprimées ne sont pas inconnues à l'Entendement divin. Le désir, c'est la prière; et nous ne pouvons rien perdre en confiant nos désirs à Dieu, afin qu'ils

soient façonnés et exaltés avant de prendre forme en paroles et en actions.»

Il n'est donc pas suffisant d'adresser simplement une requête à Dieu ou un exposé prédéterminé de ce que nous espérons que l'avenir nous apportera. Nos désirs doivent être exaltés — élevés, c'est-à-dire, au-dessus du borblier de la matérialité et de la physicalité jusqu'à un niveau plus haut et plus spirituel. Si nos buts sont conçus dans le cadre de valeurs spirituelles reconnues, ils sont beaucoup plus susceptibles de réussir parce qu'ils sont plus conformes à la réalité. Celui qui est divisé contre lui-même est celui qui ne peut se décider soit à adopter la réalité spirituelle soit à succomber à ce qui semble souvent être le choix le plus rapide — s'appuyer et se reposer sur des moyens matériels. Si l'on choisit la matérialité comme base de la vie, on accepte en

même temps toutes les limitations, les déceptions et les insatisfactions qui accompagnent la croyance à un monde de matière et la dominance de la physicalité. La sécurité, la paix de l'esprit, la connaissance de soi-même — celles-ci ne peuvent être trouvées dans la poursuite d'objectifs purement matériels.

Par contre, se reposer sur le Principe divin et la loi de Dieu produit un tout autre état de choses. Très désireux d'obéir aux directives de Dieu, heureux de se savoir l'enfant de Dieu, le sujet constant de Sa sollicitude, celui qui s'efforce de vivre et de refléter dans son existence quotidienne l'intelligence et la bonté de Dieu trouvera qu'il n'a pas à rechercher févreusement un but à poursuivre ou la sécurité. L'homme débute par une existence pleine de sens et Dieu le maintient dans cet état. Si nous faisons patiemment confiance au

Principe, le chemin s'ouvrira en vérité.

La bonté et la beauté d'un tel engagement sont illustrées dans ces paroles de Mrs. Eddy: «L'Esprit, Dieu, rassemble les pensées informées dans les canaux qui leur conviennent, et déroule ces pensées, de même qu'il ouvre les pétales d'une sainte intention, afin que cette intention puisse se manifester.»

\* Marc 3:24, 28; «Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures», p. 1; «Sécurité et Santé», p. 508.

\* Christian Science prononce «kris-tian» «saen-sa»

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, «Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures» de Mary Baker Eddy, écrite avec la pleine autorité en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou la commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publishers Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home Forum-Seite in englischer Sprache erscheinenden religiösen Artikels  
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung wird wöchentlich veröffentlicht)

## Ein sinnvolles Leben

Freiheit — welch ein Wort!

Aber Freiheit ohne Verantwortung kann ein verborgener Teufel sein. Freiheit bedeutet zu oft Ungebundenheit, ein Sich-Lösen ohne eine klare Verpflichtung zu etwas wirklich Wertvollem.

Menschliche Freiheit, sei sie nun ein Freiwerden von dem bedrückenden Einfluß der Familie, von nach unserer Meinung veralteten Gesellschaftsregeln oder einer tyrannischen Regierung, kann nur dann für den einzelnen sinnvoll sein, wenn sie im Rahmen wahrer geistigen Wachstums und Verständnisses ausgeübt wird.

Für viele jedoch, die ins Leben hineingehen, besonders für Oberschüler und Studenten, besteht verständlicherweise die Versuchung, ihre eigenen Wege zu gehen, die Regeln zu brechen, um zu zeigen, daß sie tatsächlich frei sind, und nach dem vorteilhaftesten Weg zu Sicherheit, Glück und Erfolg zu suchen.

So leicht ist es aber nicht. Wir müssen mehr über uns selbst lernen, bevor wir festen Halt, die Stärke und den moralischen Mut finden können, um vernünftige Entscheidungen hinsichtlich unserer Zukunft zu treffen. Christus Jesus, der immer ein Individualist war, sagte warnend: „Wenn ein Reich mit sich selbst uneins wird, kann es nicht bestehen. Und wenn ein Haus mit sich selbst uneins wird, kann es nicht bestehen.“

Und wird es einem Menschen, der mit

sich selbst uneins wird, besser ergohten als einem Reich oder einem Haus? Wenn jemand wirklich versteht, daß seine wahre Identität der geistige Ausdruck Gottes ist, daß er tatsächlich das Kind Gottes ist, dann er von Gott erschaffen ist und daß es keine Macht auf Erden gibt, die diese Tatsache widerlegen oder umkehren kann, wird er nicht mit sich selbst uneins sein. Er wird verstehen, daß Gott, das göttliche Prinzip, ihn erschaffen hat und daß er das göttliche Gesetz mit den göttlichen Plan in allem, was er tut, widerspiegelt.

Wie setzt man dieses Wissen in die Tat um? Man beginnt mit Demut, mit Gebet. Man achtet wachsam auf geistige Gelegenheiten — Gelegenheiten, bei denen man seine untrennbare Einheit mit Gott, dem Vater, beweisen kann. Man macht das göttliche Gesetz — den göttlichen Willen — zum Gesetz seines Lebens. Zu beten bedeutet tatsächlich, täglich dem göttlichen Prinzip gemäß zu leben, es täglich zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

Die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft\*, Mary Baker Eddy, widmet das ganze erste Kapitel des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft dem wichtigen Thema Gebet. Sie schreibt: „Unausgesprochene Gedanken sind dem göttlichen Gemüt nicht unbekannt. Verlangen ist Gebet; und kein Verlust kann uns daraus erwachsen, daß wir Gott unsere Wünsche anheimstellen, damit sie

genötigt und geklärt werden möchten, ehe sie in Worten und Taten Gestalt annehmen.“

Dann ist es also nicht genug, einfach mit einer Bitte oder einem vorgelegten Plan dessen, was wir von der Zukunft erhoffen, zu Gott zu gehen. Unsere Wünsche müssen geklärt, d. h. aus dem Morast der Materialität und Körperlichkeit auf eine höhere, mehr geistige Ebene erhoben werden. Wenn sich unsere Ziele im Rahmen anerkannter geistiger Werte halten, werden wir sie viel eher erreichen, weil sie mehr der Wirklichkeit entsprechen. Wer mit sich selbst uneins ist, kann sich nicht entscheiden, ob er sich die geistige Wirklichkeit zu eigen machen oder eine häufig scheinbar schnellere Alternative wählen soll — das Vertrauen auf den materiellen Weg und die Abhängigkeit von ihm. Wenn wir die Materialität zur Grundlage unseres Lebens machen, nehmen wir gleichzeitig all die Begrenzungen, Enttäuschungen und die Unbefriedigung an, die einen Glauben an eine Welt der Materie und die Vorherrschaft der Körperlichkeit begleiten. Sicherheit, Seelenruhe, Selbsterkenntnis — diese können nicht in dem Streben nach rein materiellen Zielen gefunden werden.

Das Vertrauen auf das göttliche Prinzip und das Gesetz Gottes andererseits bringt einen ganz anderen Zustand hervor. Derjenige, der sich bemüht, die Intelligenz und Güte Gottes im täglichen Leben auszudrücken und widerzuspiegeln, und der gern Gottes Führung gehorcht und glücklich ist in dem Bewußtsein, daß er das stets umsorgte Kind Gottes ist, wird feststellen, daß er nicht fieberhaft nach Zielbewußtheit oder Sicherheit zu suchen braucht. Der Mensch beginnt mit einem sinnvollen Dasein, und Gott erhält ihn darin. Wenn wir geduldig auf das göttliche Prinzip vertrauen, wird sich tatsächlich der Weg auftun.

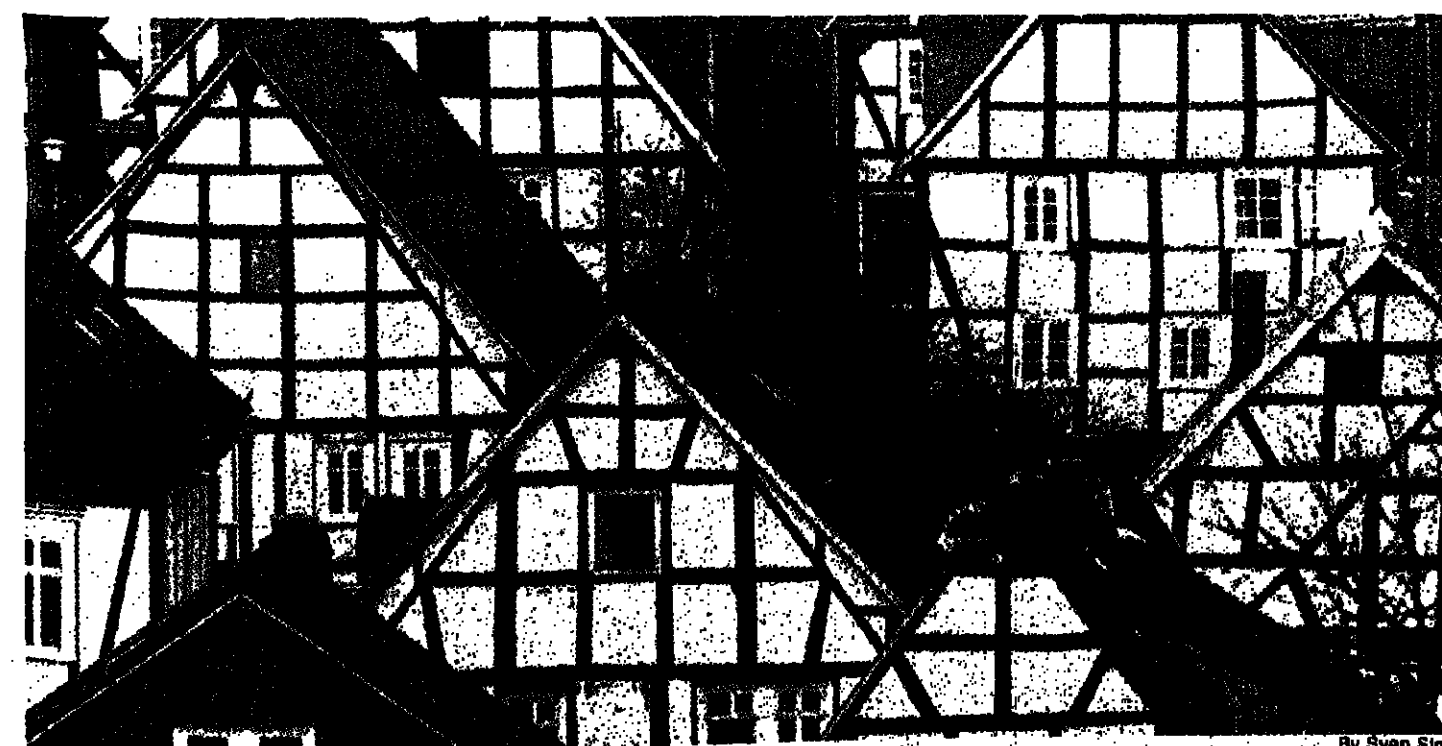
Die Güte und Schönheit einer solchen Verpflichtung zeigt sich in den folgenden Worten Mrs. Eddys: „Gott, Gott, sammelt ungeformte Gedanken in ihre geeigneten Kanäle und entfaltet diese Gedanken, so wie Er die Blütenblätter eines heiligen Vorsatzes öffnet, damit der Vorsatz erscheine.“

\* Markus 3:24, 28; «Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift», S. 1; «Wissenschaft und Gesundheit», S. 508.

\* Christian Science spricht: kris-tian «saen-sa»

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, «Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift» von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesezimmern der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden, oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Ausdruck über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erhält auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.



As though drawn with a ruler, these framework houses stand in Freudenberg-Elfen

By Sven Simon



## Beyond words

I have an art professor from Japan who calls his work realism. Most of the world would call it abstract.

When he paints he focuses not on the object before him but on the thought behind the object, for he feels this is where reality lies. His paintings are not academic; they rarely speak of the physical structure of things. Rather they convey moods, feelings, ideas. There's an aura of infinity about them. They aren't mere translations; they're transparencies — mirrors of reality. If you will. Moving beyond physical representation to the idea of being, he touches the point at which all things converge — that center of commonality where order and balance are rooted. For example: When he paints the sky he tries to "let the sky fall" to his paper. He makes an effort to feel its presence so unmistakably that he, the sky, his paper, his brush, are at one. With no separation, the sense of sky somehow happens on his paper; it's not just an imperfect effort at physical representation.

I've learned much from this man. It's all

too easy for me the thinker to become so involved in objective analysis that *me the feeler* is smothered in a coat of information — gaining layers of insight that separate me from insight. Insight, I'm finding, requires being part of the world — not a cool (or even a passionate) observer. Most of us avoid such involvement, for it leads us into an unknown realm, and this, with its disorientation, can be frightening. Involvement includes — and is held in — the infinite, that incredible, unending-unbeginning constancy so incomprehensible and unexplainable in human terms. Infinity implies the greatness of each of us — a greatness so awesome to the "logical" view that it often intimidates us. But when we accept the proposition that we and everything around us are part of infinity — that we are at one — then things give way to ideas. Ready-made pictures and limited verbiage tumble away, and explanations emerge

which are beyond physical renditions or word capsules. Such explanations crossed my path one morning last week.

I went out walking, intending to feel the world, not to think it. I tried to feel with that totally nonphysical sense — that unspeakable sense of unity which communes without absorbing, allies without possessing, perceives without categorizing.

It was snowing, but I didn't call it snow. I called it quiet. Wind swayed the grass fields, but I didn't call it grass; I called it rhythm. I sat on a stump and it became strength and companionship, rather than a hunk of wood.

And suddenly I was no separate matter-body thinking about these things; I was an integral part of their music, their heart-beat. I was helping to make the balance.

I came home no longer content to call the sky blue, as if it were a separate item needing a category. Even more, I was not satis-

fied with merely giving kind words to neighbors. I now trusted that we fitted together in a rare and perfect way. I wanted to go deeper and deeper until I sensed the right feeling that each person I met had some, invisibly woven a nest within me — and I, in turn, had at different times rested each nest. Each individual was somehow part of my being, yet distinct. Seeing it, people externally as neighbors became a unity which communes without absorbing, allies without possessing, perceives without categorizing.

Beauty was no longer locked up in the or people. They were beautiful hints of beauty, but by no means definitive, and meant to be captured or defined in words. They (and I) needed room to grow and become clearer hints.

I'm trying to give them that room. Sky, I'm turning the boxes and pigeon holes I built up within myself.

The music of a bird just touched my ear. I feel no need to identify the species. So, I may not even need to name the bird.

Bunny M2

## Fuji by any other name

Lightning couldn't strike Mt. Fuji twice, if we are to believe fable; but nature itself couldn't strike the famous snow-capped mountain in the same way twice in the art of Hokusai. Approaching Mt. Fuji as man, insect, fish, bird or high, not a perspective was foreign to his "Thirty-six Views of Mount Fuji." Each showed the splendid peak in a different guise — whether dwarfed by the white foam of a still more mountainous wave or peacefully settling between terraced hills or, here, itself dwarfing the lightning at its foot.

As prolific in his person as in his prints, this magician of the woodblock slipped in and out of many guises and modes; he assumed fifty names in his time and lived in almost twice as many dwelling places. By the time of his death at 89 in 1849, the Japanese printmaker had created 35,000 drawings and prints. His range of interests was enormous. In a Western context, he would be The Renaissance Man.

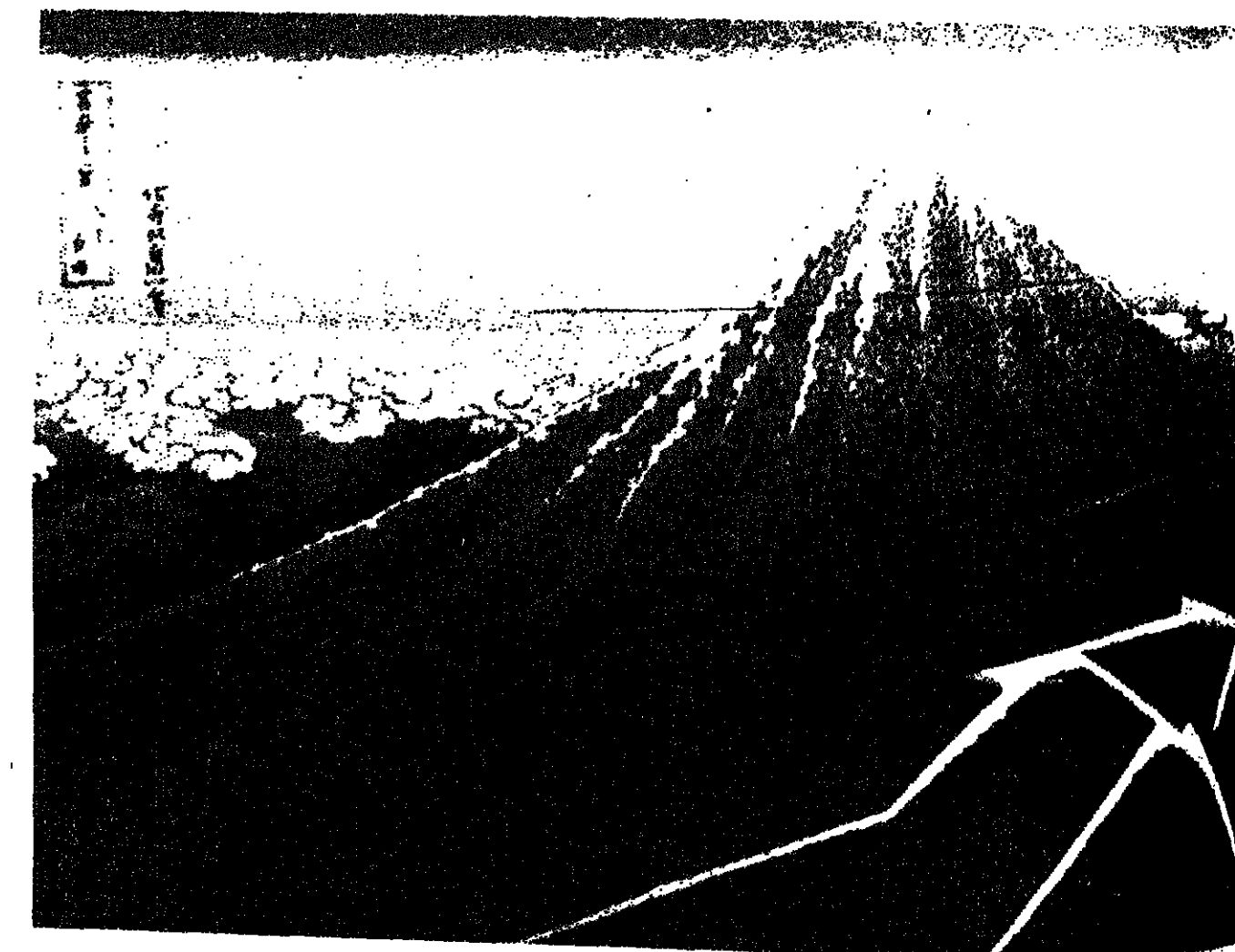
Larger than life as a human, he created an art larger than his physical life: this work, no bigger than most coffee-table books, bursts off the page. The public landscape of the tourists becomes a bold design, as striking as a stage set, yet retaining its link to its natural source: though theatrically posed, the magnificent mountain is not tortured to make some grotesque drama.

Hokusai had gifts of draftsmanship and composition equalled by few. Abstract and real, popular and profound, his art reigned even over the famous mountain.

Jane Holtz Kay

## All things small and beautiful

I looked with wonder on the Japanese appreciation of all small things in nature. Is it because their country, beautifully and theatrically mountainous, hardly ever allows a long vista, letting them always see things at



"Lightning at the Foot of the Fuji": Woodcut by Hokusai (1790-1849)

Courtesy of The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York

close range? Or have her strange and lovely mists some part in teaching them to see, falling often like a backdrop behind a single pine, separating it from the rest of the world? Or have the Japanese, from generations spent in one-story paper houses, learned a language, an alphabet of beauty in nature, that we, in our houses of brick and stone, have shut out? Or is it, again, only because they are always artists and see more than we do?

We are in one of their museums. The Japanese gentleman who was showing us paintings unrolled one of the scrolls, an ink sketch of one branch of a cherry tree. "Do you see,"

he said, "how the artist has painted the young shoots pricking off from the old branch? There is so much more life in them. You can see the new sap running in them — here is another." He unrolled a scroll and hung it on the wall in front of me. This was a water color. In the left-hand corner was a bird ruffled and wet by the rain, a few tufts of grass and flowering weed. The rest of the canvas, bare. But although bare, it was not empty. Crowded with space, I felt paradoxically that it was the most important part of the painting, like those silences in a conversation which are so powerful that words against them flicker feebly, as stars against

the wealth of blackness at night. And yet in the painting, although bird and grass were also set apart by it. Washed in space, they stood out, vivid and alone, a halo of stillness about them. Perhaps, I thought, this is how the Japanese see everything in nature, always with a halo of stillness, and therefore always beautiful.

Anne Morrow Lindbergh

From "North to the Orient," ©1965, Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York

## Gardens of Japan

If architecture is music's frozen state, this is philosophy in green and brown — the thousand-year-old art of scaling down a panorama to a garden plot; the management of mountains; how to set a necklace waterfall in evergreen, the bridge to double itself, the Worship Stone. To each his scope — the pocket-size retreat hides layered levels of discovery. . . . One sage erased the Pacific with a wall — except that he who stoops to swallow a cool drink from the stone bowl, looking up will be suddenly dazzled by a glimpse; and feel his small cup dipped into immensity.

Kate Brackett

[This is a Japanese translation of today's religious article]

[これは今日の宗教記事の翻訳です]

## 意義ある生活

自由...何という素晴らしい言葉!

しかし、責任の伴わない自由は、悪魔の変装である場合がある。自由とは勝手なことを意味することが余りにも多く、本当に価値あるものに因りすることから逃避することを意味する。

人間の自由は、それが個人にとって真に意義あるものとなるためには、たとえ家業の道徳からの解放であれ、時代により変化する社会風俗、あるいは政治的体制からの解放であれ、それは自らの霊的成長と理解の伴ったものである。それは自らの自由な意志によるものである。

しかし、人生に踏み出さんとする多くの人は、殊に高校生や大学生のレベルでは、十分理解できずに自由を名乗り、安定、幸福、成功に向かう道徳を拒否するという誘惑に陥れることが多い。

しかし、自由とはそんな生やさしいものではない。わたしたちは、将来に対する健全な決断を下すため、確固たる立場をとり、力と道徳的勇気を見いだす前に、まず自己を十分に知らなければならぬ。常に個人主義者であったキリスト・エドゥアードは、次の警告を発している:「もし自分が内部で分裂を争うなら、その内は立ち行かない。また、もし自分が外部で分裂を争うなら、その家は立ち行かないであろう。」

個人の考えの中に分裂が起こることは、国家や家庭が内部で分裂を争うことよりはるかに考えられるだろうか? 人が自分の良心が神の霊的表現であり、自分が現実に神の子であり、神に導かれたものである。そしてこの事実を否定したり、軽蔑せざるが地上にないことを認める時、自分の考えが分裂することはないのである。彼は神、神性原理、が自分を創造し、自分がなすことすべてにおいて神性の法則と目的を反映していることを知るのである。

この知識をいかにして実行に移すことができるだろうか? まず、謙虚になり祈ることからはじめるのである。霊的機会を逃さないように心がけるのである。彼または彼女が、神すなわち父と不可分な一体であることを、証明する機会を逃さないことである。神性の法則、つまり神の意志を、彼または彼女の生活の法則にするのである。祈りとは、神性原理を現実化し日々の生活に生かす、日々表現することである。

キリスト教科学\*\*の発見者、創始者であるメリー・バーク・エディは、キリスト教科学の教科書の第一巻の全部を、この最も大切な主題である祈りにあてている。彼女は次のように書いてい

え、願いが言葉や行為に表わされる前に、型取られ高められるように、神にわたしたちの願いをゆだねるなら、何も失うことはない。」

ゆえに、神に自分の要求をもって神に祈った時、将来の希望の火を「予め決定して、それを祈願するのではなく十分である。わたしたちの願いが高められなければならない——つまり神の霊的性質と内面的から、より高い、より霊的な理解のレベルにまで上りなければならない。わたしたちの願いが認められ、霊的価値の中身にあり、神に受け入れられるからである。自分の考えが分裂している人とは、霊的実現を認めようか、それとも一見近道に見える他の道を走ろうか。一物質的な道を信じてみようか——と心にきまかれている人々である。物質性を生活基準に受ける人は、同時に物質世界と内面的の優劣を信じることに作られた制限、失望、そして不満を受け入れるのである。安定感、心の平安、自己——これらは純粋に物質的な目的を追求している人々から得られるものではない。

他方、神性原理、および神の法則に信じて、立ち上った状態が生れてくる。神の導きに熱心に従い、絶えず神の字と神の言葉をうけとる喜びを知り、日々の生活で神の道と真意を反映しようと努める人は、意義ある生活あるいは安定を夢中にならずに探すべきではない。人は意義ある生活として始まり、神はその生存を維持する。幸福、健康、原理に傾く時、道は必ず開かれるのである。このように神に自己を任せることの善さと美しさは、エディ夫人の次の言葉に写し出されている:「霊・神は、まだ形を成さないものもろろの考えを、正しい経路に集め、それらの考えを展開させるが、それはちょうど神が、聖なる目的が現れるために、その目的の花びらを開くのと同一ようなものである。」

「マルコ 3:24, 25; 『科学と健康——付録の巻』, p. 1; 『同書』, p. 506.

\* 本誌は、唯一無二の神、神の同意、およびキリスト教科学で特別な意義をもつ用語。  
\*\* Christian Science (クリスチャン・サイエンス)

キリスト教科学の教科書、メリー・バーク・エディ著「科学と健康——付録の巻」は、日本版で出版されています。キリスト教科学を深く理解することも、または次の住所に注文することができます:  
Miss Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, U.S.A. 02115.  
他のキリスト教科学出版物については、次の住所にお問い合わせ下さい: The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, U.S.A. 02115.

## The Monitor's religious article

## A meaningful life

Freedom — what a word!

But freedom, if it is unaccompanied by responsibility, can be a demon in disguise. Too often freedom means footloose, a breaking away with a clear commitment to anything really substantial.

Human freedom, whether it be release from family pressures, what one may feel to be outmoded social codes, or tyrannical government, can only be meaningful to the individual if practiced within a framework of true spiritual growth and understanding.

Yet for many starting out in life, especially at the high-school and college level, the understandable temptation is to strike out, break the rules to show that one is indeed free, and search for the most expedient path to security, happiness, and success.

Not so easy. We have to learn more about ourselves before we can stand firm and find the strength and moral courage to make sound decisions about our future. Christ Jesus, always an individualist, issued the warning: "If a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand."

And will a man fare any better than a kingdom or a house if he be divided against himself? If a man truly realizes that his real identity is the spiritual expression of God, that he is the actual child of God, that he is created by God, and that there is no power on earth that can refute or reverse that fact, he will not be divided. He will know that God, divine Principle, has created him, and that he reflects the divine law and purpose in everything he does.

How does one implement this knowledge? One begins with humility, with prayer. One keeps alert to spiritual opportunities — opportunities in which one can prove his or her inseparable unity with God, the Father. One makes divine law — God's will — the law of his or her life. Prayer is actually the daily living, the daily expression, of divine Principle.

The Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, Mary Baker Eddy, devotes the entire first chapter of the Christian Science textbook to the important subject of prayer. She writes: "Thoughts unspoken are not unknown to the divine Mind. Desire is prayer; and no loss can occur from trusting God with our desires, that they may be moulded and exalted before they take form in words and in deeds."

It is not enough, then, to simply go to God with a request or a predetermined outline of what we hope the future will bring. Our desires must be exalted — lifted, that is, from the morass of materiality and physicality to a higher, more spiritual level. Our goals, if they are conceived within the framework of acknowledged spiritual values, are much more likely to succeed because they conform more to reality. The individual divided against himself is one who cannot make up his mind whether to embrace spiritual reality or to succumb to what often appears to be the quicker alternative — reliance and dependence on the material way. If one chooses materiality as the basis of his life, he accepts at the same time all the limitations, disappointments, and dissatisfactions that accompany a belief in a matter world and the dominance of physicality. Security, peace of mind, self-knowledge — these cannot be found in the pursuit of purely material objectives.

On the other hand, reliance on divine Principle and on the law of God produces quite another state of affairs. Eager to obey God's

direction, happy in the knowledge of oneself as the constantly cared-for child of God, the individual who strives to live and reflect in his daily life the intelligence and goodness of God will find that he does not have to feverishly search for purposefulness or security. Man begins with a meaningful existence, and God maintains him in it. If we patiently trust Principle, the way will indeed open.

The goodness and beauty of such a commitment are imaged in these words by Mrs. Eddy: "Spirit, God, gathers unformed thoughts into their proper channels, and unfolds these thoughts, even as He opens the petals of a holy purpose in order that the purpose may appear."

\*Mark 3:24, 25; \*\*Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures, p. 1; †Science and Health, p. 506.

## A search that satisfies

Today perhaps more than at any time in recent history long-held concepts are being challenged. Beliefs about religion, about God, about health, about the very substance of things are changing. There is a searching and rethinking going on.

In a deeply satisfying way Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures by Mary Baker Eddy provides a solid basis for rethinking basic assumptions. This book can help its readers understand God. It will help them look beneath the claims of material reality to the permanent truth of spiritual creation. This spiritualization of thought brings healing and a Christian purpose to living.

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# OPINION AND...

Charles W. Yost

## The greatest challenge

Washington  
Philip Gibbs, the celebrated World War I correspondent, once reported a curious incident which occurred on the Western front at a point where the opposing lines were close to each other and no-man's-land was narrow.

Above the German trench was lifted one day a large sign proclaiming: "The English Are Fools." The English, of course, peppered it with machine-gun fire. A moment later, however, another sign was raised reading: "The Germans Are Fools."

The English were puzzled. Finally a third sign was raised: "We're All Fools. Let's Go Home."

Unfortunately nobody did go home until November, 1918, after 39 million had been killed in an avoidable and useless European civil war which, in addition to its immediate casualties, spawned communism, nazism, and World War II.

This story comes to mind as one reads the recent deluge of published or leaked "intelligence" reports emanating from the "Committee on the Present Danger," from a recently retired Air Force general, and from an outside panel commissioned by the CIA to review intelligence estimates concerning Soviet capabilities and intentions.

These are not actually "intelligence" reports in the sense that they convey new information about what the Soviets are doing and planning. They are ideological theses setting forth biased evaluations of information which has long been available and which has in the past been interpreted otherwise.

Most of the members both of the Committee on the Present Danger and the CIA's team of outside consultants have been prone for many years to extravagant interpretations of Soviet intentions. They are about as capable of objective judgment on these matters as the Soviet general staff would be about U.S. intentions.

For instance, these experts have recently become much concerned about the Soviet civil defense program and claim it indicates that the Soviets not only contemplate nuclear war but expect to be able to survive it. This is, of course, one possible interpretation. But a more plausible one would seem to be that the Soviets, having lost 20 million people in the last war, are trying to limit casualties in another if it should tragically occur.

Moreover, there is no reason whatsoever to believe that the Soviet or any other feasible civil defense program would, in case of general war, prevent enormous loss of life, enormous destruction of industry and trans-

port, and enormous disruption of entire social systems.

Soviet leaders have for many years been acutely aware of these hard facts and, however ambitious they may be, are extremely unlikely to run the risk of such catastrophic consequences to themselves for the highly problematic gains a nuclear war might bring.

On the other hand, Soviet leaders have been persistently culpable, as in many cases U.S. leaders have been, in proceeding with buildups of both nuclear and conventional forces which cannot be justified as necessary to defense and which give grounds for the charge that they are seeking not parity but superiority. The stupid lengths to which the Soviets carry secrecy enables critics to level the most extravagant charges against them without refutation.

It unfortunately seems improbable that Soviets and Americans will decide one fine morning that the whole costly, dangerous, and useless competition in arms is simply foolishness and should be ended.

The next best recourse is to get on, far more vigorously and speedily than in the past, with the negotiation of strategic, conventional, and naval arms-reduction agreements and with the exercise of rigorous reciprocal restraint in the introduction of new weapons systems.

This will be the first and most important problem in foreign and military affairs which the new administration will face. On its response to this challenge is likely to rest, most of all, the judgment of history about it.

Our inveterate hard-liners, having blown up the Soviet menace to unreal proportions, can be counted on to oppose any arms-control agreements or any reciprocal restraints which are not so heavily weighted in America's favor as to be wholly unattainable.

What else do they have to offer? Some utopia in which the United States is so clearly superior in all categories of arms that no one dare challenge us? That the Soviets have the will and ability to prevent such American predominance is entirely clear from the history of the last 15 years.

No, what the hard-liners are in fact offering the American people, as the alternative to realistic arms control, is an endless escalation of ever more sophisticated, destructive, and expensive weapons on both sides, ending all too probably, whatever may be the intentions of either, in nuclear war.

Who would then be left to raise up the cellular sign: "We're All Fools. Let's Go Home?"

— 1977 Charles W. Yost

## Questions Jimmy Carter never gets asked

Melvin Maddocks

A year ago the American people knew nothing, or next to nothing, about Jimmie-Who? Today, thanks to the enterprise of what is called "news-gathering," we not only know everything about him, but practically everything about his daughter Amy (including her recipe for lemonade); his brother Billy (who does not drink Amy's lemonade); and of course his wife Rosalynn — how overinformed we are already on her taste in clothes and hair-style and the dishes she plans for the White House menu!

As for the new President's mother, we should know as much about our own.

Thanks to the cross-questioning of Barbara Walters and others, we have learned that the President plans to wear blue jeans in the White House and anticipates kicking off a square dance or two, given the suitable occasion and a first-class fiddler.

Patience, at length, and without waffling, Mr. Carter has delivered himself again and again of his opinions on such subjects as peanuts and the curve vs. the change-of-pace in softball strategy.

Now that Mr. Carter has moved in as President, what remains to be asked? True, though she certainly tried, Miss Walters did not probe as fiercely as she might have into Carter sleeping habits. Do the next tenants of the White House prefer plain or patterned sheets? Foam or down pillows? Are electric blankets favored? At what setting?

But surely all these questions will be asked and answered by February at the latest. Then what will be left

to say in the supposedly ongoing dialogue between the President and the press?

In the interests of preventing four years of total silence, we have drawn up a list of questions that nobody — not even Playboy magazine — has yet thrown at Mr. Carter. For the sake of a little drama we will ask the interviewers to identify themselves when they present their questions — and let's imagine a moderator to play go-between:

Moderator: Yes, you sir, the bald-headed man in the baggy white robe.

First interviewer: Thank you. My name is Socrates. I'm a free-lance from Athens. My question to Mr. Carter is this: What makes a good President? I'm assuming — correct me if I'm wrong — that no one should be involved in the process of government unless he has asked himself this question, and the question behind it: What makes a good man?

Moderator: Well, yes. Yes! You've really asked quite a few questions in one, haven't you, er, Mr. Socrates? If you're willing to put the whole thing in writing, I'm sure Mr. Carter will be glad to answer you. Later.

Socrates: Thanks. I'll just leave a copy of "The Republic" with Jody on the way out.

Moderator: Good! O.K. Moving right along now, we'll take a question from the two gentlemen in front, raising their arms in synch. — are you Evans and Novak?

Second and third interviewers (in unison): No, we're Hobbes and Locke. We're almost as unlike as Evans and Novak though. We've got a syndication contract with a couple of British weeklies. Also we're negotiating translation rights with a Paris daily. And speaking of contracts, we do believe in a system of checks and balances. Mr. Carter, how much executive privilege are you going to claim?

Moderator: Another, er, relevant question. All I can do is give you a copy of an old Carter speech, "Republican Arrogance in the White House: Time for a Change." Well! Mr. Carter is smiling to me that he's going to scrap the last half of that speech, from the hyphen on. So . . . the next question will come from the front row, from the tall, sour, uh, dear gentleman in very comfortable walking shoes.

Fourth interviewer: My name is Henry Thoreau. I don't work for any paper. I don't work for anybody. In fact, I don't believe in work. But I keep a journal. My question to Mr. Carter is this: If Mr. Carter gets my country in a war I can't in all conscience support, will he put me in jail for refusing to pay part of my tax?

Moderator: Oh boy! Listen to these substantive questions. To tell you the truth, all those other questions have spoiled Mr. Carter and the rest of us. We're used to trivial questions. The public's used to trivial answers. So please . . . yes? The man from People magazine? Does Mr. Carter use waxed or unwaxed dental floss? I thought you'd never ask.

Joseph C. Harsch

## The further danger

Attention at this time is being focused on the theory that the Soviets have as their serious goal the achievement of decisive military superiority over the United States.

The first military budget of the Carter administration will probably reflect the heightened sense of this danger.

As Americans work toward their decision on what kinds of weapons to build in order to guard against the possibility of any decisive Soviet superiority it is to be borne in mind that there is more than one danger involved.

There is, certainly, a danger of the Soviets obtaining a military position so strong that its very existence would be the determining factor in the relations of the nations of this world to one another. Decisive superiority can lead to the effect of political submission by the weaker — although it need not do so and has not always done so. The United States possessed decisive superiority in all branches of military power from 1945 down through the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. But, during that time the United States did not use that power to threaten the survival of the Soviet Union or to impose American purposes upon Soviet policy.

True, during the 1950s there were voices raised in Washington in favor of a so-called "preventive war." The theory was that the

United States should use its nuclear superiority while it still possessed a decisive advantage. But President Eisenhower sat firmly on all such proposals. He is said to have insisted that there is no such thing as a "preventive war," but only war. And he did not intend to have the United States make war on the Soviet Union while he was in charge.

So the United States was itself an example during the decade of the '50s of the proposition that great and responsible powers do not always use their superiority, when they enjoy it, as a means for dominating some other great power. America behaved in that period with restraint and responsibility. It did not abuse or overuse its powers. And, incidentally, it did not commit itself beyond its resources and capabilities as it did later under Lyndon Johnson.

The restraint expressed by American policy during the '50s does not prove that the Soviets would behave with equal restraint if they should succeed some day in obtaining the degree of superiority which belonged to the United States at that time. It is a reasonable proposition that a substantial number of persons at the top levels of command in Moscow would want to use such superiority if they ever achieved it. The doctrines of communism would push them in that direction. Their own sense of fear of encirclement would also weigh

in the scales of decision at the Kremlin in favor of power.

Hence it is only reasonable prudence for the incoming members of the new administration to take such steps as will maintain a safe and sound military posture for the Western world. But the way things are done, and the specifics of what is done can also determine the perceptions of others about the purposes of the United States.

Thus too much talk of American weakness can cause others to assume a weakness which does not exist, and take advantage of it. But, equally, too much talk of one's own strength can induce undesirable and extremely dangerous assumptions and reactions by others.

Some analysts of the Soviet Union think they have detected an assumption in top Soviet military levels that the United States is determined someday to destroy the Soviet Union as a world power. Thus, are they building out of a fear induced by past American behavior, and have they already committed themselves because of that fear to the assumption of an ultimate war?

No one in high place in Europe at the beginning of this century seriously doubted that Europe was building toward another war. The Germans were on the road to domination of

Europe. Could the others prevent it? The inevitability of war was accepted as a basis for the policies of all the great powers of that era.

Between World War I and II both Japanese and Americans assumed the probability of a war between them. Both prepared for it. The fact of mutual preparation for war was one reason why the war did come about.

From Eisenhower down through Nixon and Ford, American national strategy has been aimed at reaching and sustaining an equilibrium of power.

An equilibrium of power means stability and a framework within which peace is possible. An attempt to upset the equilibrium threatens stability and invites war. If either Moscow or Washington became convinced that the other was committed to the idea of an inevitable war, each would be looking for the favorable chance to strike the decisive blow.

So far neither the Soviet nor the American government is committed to the inevitability of war. Carelessness in the shaping of the budget could cause the spread of the idea of inevitability. It is the farther danger, but the one which will be either increased or reduced by the manner in which President-Elect Carter handles the current doctrine of the Soviet thrust for superiority.

# COMMENTARY

## Japan's Prime Minister: can he stay at the top?

By Jerome Alan Cohen

If Jimmy Carter thinks that he has problems, he may want to compare notes with Japan's new Prime Minister, Takeo Fukuda. Having finally reached the top of the greasy pole after a generation in national politics and an earlier brilliant career in the Ministry of Finance, the wily 71-year-old Fukuda may soon be wondering why he ever wanted the job.

Fukuda's economic sophistication was one of the reasons why a business community plagued by a seemingly endless recession was eager to have him replace Takeo Miki. Rather than concentrate on conventional bread-and-butter issues, Prime Minister Miki had tried to get to the bottom of the Lockheed scandal, tighten antitrust legislation, and reform the laws regulating financial contributions to political parties — efforts that met a popular response but that caused some discomfort to business circles and his conservative Liberal Democratic (LDP) colleagues. Yet, as Japan's bankrupt statisticians, inflation, and unemployment demonstrate, the economic situation is serious.

Moreover, the consequences of the nation's attempt to improve matters by another of its formidable export drives will challenge Fukuda's expertise in international politics as well as economics. During 1976, because of superior products and marketing techniques, Japan rolled up huge surpluses in trade with the European Economic Community (EEC) and the United States, rekindling the fires of protectionism in those countries. Tensions have also increased over the unilateral promulgation by the EEC and the U.S., as well as other nations, of 200-mile fishing zones which may deprive Japan, the world's leading fishing country — which is so dependent on fish for its animal protein supply — of more than 40 percent of its present annual catch. In addition, Japan continues to be vulnerable to the maneuvers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), upon which it depends for almost all of its oil. It is also betwixtly sensitive

to the demands of the developing world, especially the nations of Southeast Asia, that it contribute more generously to their advancement.

Security concerns further complicate Japan's agenda. The dominant coalition of Liberal Democratic politicians, high-level bureaucrats, business leaders and conservative commentators is extremely nervous about the Carter administration, especially its policy toward Korea, where Japanese private investment has soared to \$628 million and where Japan has long-standing psychological ties. The President has called for the removal of American nuclear weapons from South Korea and the very gradual withdrawal of U.S. ground forces after consultation with both Seoul and Tokyo. This would leave intact the U.S. defense commitment; keep American air and naval units in South Korea not only as symbols of that continuing commitment but also as tangible supplements to the ample, well-trained and well-supplied South Korean ground forces; and presumably continue American military and economic aid for at least the short run.

There is also considerable anxiety about the possibility that the U.S. may finally break diplomatic relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan and normalize relations with China, as Japan did in 1972. This concern stems from a number of sources, among them a reluctance to see the government of the late Chiang Kai-shek lose its last major diplomatic supporter; a fear that normalization will preclude continuing American defense of Taiwan and thus jeopardize Japan's southern flank and its important economic ties to the island; and a worry that warmer Sino-American contacts may result in cooler Japanese-American and Sino-Japanese contacts.

Given the uneven American record in Asia and the "Szechuan shock" over China policy, Japan's need for reassurance is understandable. Fortunately the Carter administration is un-

likely to administer any shocks of its own and can be expected to appreciate the need for closely coordinating its policy on China, as well as Korea, with Japan.

Japan has its own bilateral problems with China. Its negotiation of a peace and friendship treaty with the People's Republic has long been stalled over Peking's insistence that the treaty repeat the joint declaration made in their 1972 normalization agreement that neither side will seek political hegemony and that both will oppose the hegemony of a third country. Under great pressure from the Soviet Union — the obvious "third country" which the parties have in mind — the Japanese have resisted this Chinese demand.

Negotiation of a peace treaty with Moscow has also been a problem for the two decades since Russo-Japanese diplomatic relations were resumed, primarily because of the U.S.S.R.'s refusal to return four "northern territory" islands off Hokkaido which it has occupied since the war's end. The U.S. return of Okinawa and the increasing strategic and fishing value of the northern islands have multiplied Japanese nationalist sentiments for their reintegration into Japan. Miki made no progress, and Fukuda is being pressed to do better.

Korea itself poses many questions. Should Japan ratify the 1974 agreement calling for joint Tokyo-Seoul exploitation of the oil under-neath the sea that divides them? Should it seek to vindicate its sovereignty by pressing South Korea to return to Japan Kim Il-sung, the imprisoned democratic leader who was kidnapped from Tokyo by Korean CIA agents in 1972? What level of public and private economic cooperation is appropriate? Many Fukuda supporters are concerned that the current investigations of the Korea lobby in Washington will spill over into Japan by revealing an unattractive network of corrupt political

and business ties between Tokyo and Seoul that might dwarf the Lockheed scandal.

Fukuda's ability to cope with all these sensitive international and domestic problems is limited by his narrow margin in Parliament. The Liberal Democrats were stunned by the sharp decline in public support they suffered in December's election of the Lower House. As a result, they have only a four-vote majority and have lost control of some important committees.

Fukuda plainly cannot afford to alienate any members of his majority. Yet they are badly divided over many issues.

For example, the largest faction in his party continues to be controlled by former Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka, whose prosecution for bribery and other Lockheed charges is about to open but whose full involvement in the scandal has yet to emerge. If Fukuda fulfills his pledge to complete the investigation, he will surely lose the Tanaka faction's support and leave office. Yet, if he prematurely announces an end to the investigation, he will further alienate the LDP's public support and stimulate reform-minded legislators who remain within the party to follow the example of others who abandoned it prior to the election.

This summer's election of half the members of the Upper House will be crucial. Conservative control there rests upon an even narrower margin, and unless Fukuda proves more popular than expected and arrests the LDP's steady decline it will lose its slim majority. This would introduce an era of coalition politics, raising the specter of political fragmentation that could threaten the maintenance of effective democratic government in Asia's only full democracy. Fukuda's reign may be short but not sweet.

Mr. Cohen is professor of law and director of the East Asian Legal Studies Program at Harvard.

## 'Bread is very sensitive' in Britain

By Francis Remey

Pity poor Roy Hattersley, one of Labour's chubbier ministers, now Secretary of State for Prices and Consumer Protection! He takes over from everyone's darling Shirley Williams, tries to win favor by offering a breadcrumb of comfort to the public, and promptly gets a crusty answer from the bakers' drivers. Instead of coming down, as Mr. Hattersley intended, the price of bread goes up.

It all shows that housekeeping is a woman's job.

Bread is a highly emotive comestible (if that

term doesn't lie too heavily on the stomach). Rulers have always recognized its power over the public imagination, superior even to its place in the public diet. The Romans thought bread and circuses were the key to power (nowadays substitute television for circuses); bread riots, bread lines — "let them eat cake."

Ironically, it was not until Britain had won World War II that the authorities rationed our bread: remember the dreaded RUs, the Bread Units? And then, so as not to favor the Irish in our midst, potatoes were rationed, too.

Mr. Hattersley's problem has not been a physical shortage of the imported North American wheat the British require for the bulk of their bread-flour: it was the cost of it. Most of Britain's bread is produced by three big firms; less than a quarter of it comes from surviving small bakers. Two years ago, the big firms were ordered to stop their cosy price-fixing arrangements, which had assured them of comfortable profit margins. But as the value of the pound went down, and government tried to nail down the price in the shops, even the big firms felt the pinch.

Mr. Hattersley found himself obliged to let prices go up. Remember the old 8p loaf of living memory? (I speak here of the standard 28-ounce loaf — only the British could produce a standard that was one and three-quarter pounds or about .8 of a kilogram.) Well, the Secretary of State said it could not go as high as 24p for those unfortunate enough to live in the distant Hebrides, and a penny or two less for the citizens of more civilized parts; but at the same time he was removing restrictions on the discount (i.e. price cuts) that bakers could give their best retail customers.

Mr. Hattersley called it, rashly, "encouraging the wind of competition to blow."

What got blown was a rude raspberry from the men who deliver the bread, members of the United Road Transport Union. The minister had tried to brighten the Christmas lights by hinting at a 10p loaf or even less. Union boss Mr. Jackson Moore telegraphed to say: "The union will control the price of bread," which must have been quite a lesson in democratic administration even for a Labour minister.

The bread-van drivers had two big worries. First, they were afraid that a discount-boasting, price-cutting war would fatten the big supermarkets (which could actually afford to sell bread at a loss) and starve out the small shopkeepers. That could mean whole delivery rounds being shut down and drivers' jobs lost. Second, many drivers are paid on a commission basis. The cheaper the bread, the lower

their commissions. The union insisted on enforcing a minimum price purely in the interests of its members' earnings. So after dropping as low as 14p in some stores, the loaf went up (compulsorily) to 19p "or else."

Mr. Hattersley deplored the union men's price manipulation. His Conservative sparring-partner, pretty Sally Oppenheim M.P., retorted: "I'm delighted at his belated conversion to benefits of competition; but I condemn him for misleading consumers into believing prices could be appreciably lower in any case. Because of socialist interference with prices, bakers simply haven't got the profits to spare."

And Mrs. Oppenheim added mysteriously: "The bread industry is a very delicate one. Bread is very sensitive."

The outside observer can't help feeling, sometimes, that British bread has brought its troubles on itself. Average consumption has declined 9 percent over the past ten years, and if it had not been for the 1976 drought and the soaring price of potatoes, bread consumption would certainly have slumped still further. If this reporter's hopeful of hungry young adults is anything to go by, rice, pasta and potatoes are fast elbowing the squidgy, plastic-wrapped loaf off the dinner table. Its nutritive values seem unconvincing.

Not only plastic-wrapped, by the taste of it. The standard supermarket loaf appears to have been extruded from some factory, rather than baked in a bakery.

So it is heartening to note two new developments which should be immune to the activities of the drivers' union. One is the formation of a Campaign for Real Bread (CAMRB). The other is the establishment — actually by one of the roiled big baking chains — of more than 300 hot bread shops where you can actually see your loaf being baked, and walk out with it hot. A snag? Yes; it costs more. And the bakers' shops are concentrated in the south, where (according to the market research men) the crusty loaf lovers live.

## Readers write

### Bias on Rhodesia

Referring to your editorial "Preparing for Rhodesian talks," I no longer feel justified in using that punch line about the Monitor being unbiased when there is such an obvious bias in favor of black Rhodesians and against [Prime Minister] Smith.

I quote: "With variations in time, place and preliminary agreements, Mr. Smith has played this game before — with unflinching success in breaking up negotiations with Britons or black nationalists, thereby leaving himself in power." And Dr. Kissinger "now should prevent the wily Mr. Smith from exploiting his concession on black majority rule by reminding him bluntly that U.S. support still will not be forthcoming if the talks break down."

Why "the wily Mr. Smith"? How about the wily Dr. Kissinger, who presented this plan to Mr. Smith after consultation with the Africans, and which Mr. Smith accepted and broadcast his acceptance in good faith to the world. Was Dr. Kissinger being quite open on these terms, and if he was, why, immediately on his return to the U.S.A., did some of the black leaders deny having agreed to some of the terms?

In the 10 years since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence, there have been about seven meetings, all ending in failure. Is your editorial suggesting that the blame for all

these failures was on Mr. Smith? In 1974, Bishop Muzorewa, head of the African National Council, and Mr. Smith met secretly and negotiated settlement proposals, but these were rejected by the ANC central committee. Do you also blame Mr. Smith for this?

A huge responsibility rests on Mr. Smith who naturally wants to protect white Rhodesians from bloodshed and violence. He accepted the package deal in good faith, stating each and every point in the agreement, and telling the world on television. In this statement, it was clearly laid down that in the transition there would be a council of state with equal black and white representation, a black prime minister, and defense and law portfolios in white hands. This last clause was surely intended as a protective measure for the whites, as largely outnumbered by the blacks. Would not any responsible prime minister do the same for his people?

It does seem that the Monitor is totally on the side of the blacks, right or wrong. Wynborg, South Africa

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication; but thoughtful comments are welcome.